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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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2 April 1984

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

RENMIN RIBAO ON 'LONG-DRAWN-OUT' STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

HK080510 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 84 p 6

["Commentary" by Jiang Jianguo [3068 1696 0948]: "The Stockholm Conference Is Marking Time"]

[Text] Since its opening session in Stockholm on 17 January, no progress has been made in the conference attended by 33 European countries, the United States, and Canada on the establishment of cooperation and security measures in Europe and on disarmament. The first phase of the conference is scheduled to adjourn on 16 March, but no essential discussions have yet been held and no consensus has been reached even on the agenda of the conference. SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG of the FRG said that the Stockholm conference was void.

The Stockholm conference was one of the many follow-up conferences after the Madrid follow-up conference of the CSCE. Before the closing session of the 3-year Madrid follow-up conference of the CSCE last September, a decision was made to hold the third follow-up conference of the CSCE--the Vienna follow-up conference, at the end of 1986, and to hold three conferences of experts in 1984, 1985, and 1986, respectively, on discussing disarmament and the establishment of cooperation and security measures, on the human rights issue, and on the exchange of personnel, so as to formulate documents to be submitted to the Vienna follow-up conference for examination and discussion. Among these follow-up conferences, the disarmament conference held in Stockholm would last the longest and its subject would be the most publicized. The conference is scheduled to last for 3 years. Two meetings will be held this and next year, each lasting 8 months, and another one will be held in 1986, lasting 6 months.

In view of the experience of the previous two conferences on security and cooperation in Europe, Western political and media circles did not have great expectations of this marathon conference. Before the opening session of the conference, many newspapers held that the conference would be a "dialogue in a world of ice and snow" and "a dialogue between two deaf persons." However, since the U.S. deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe at the end of last year and the Soviet withdrawal from the three talks on intermediate-range nuclear weapons, strategic nuclear weapons, and conventional weapons in central Europe, the situation has

changed. As a result of the suspension of all channels for East-West contacts, U.S.-Soviet relations have been at a low ebb and the situation in Europe has become unpredictable. Under such a situation, European countries all wish to make use of this Stockholm conference to promote a U.S.-Soviet dialogue, to resume contacts, and to relax the strained situation after the deployment of the missiles. Foreign ministers of all NATO countries attended the NATO foreign ministers conference held at the end of last year and the Soviet Union and all other Warsaw Treaty countries also decided to send their foreign ministers to attend the conference. A decision has also been made by the United States and the Soviet Union to hold a meeting in Stockholm between the foreign ministers of the two countries. The United States, which holds aloft the banner of talks, has seized every opportune moment to repeatedly advocate its intention of making the conference "a turning point in East-West relations." All this has given the expert-level Stockholm conference important political significance and aroused concern and attention from everywhere.

But the expected "Stockholm miracle" has not appeared. At the U.S.-Soviet foreign ministers meeting, both sides adhered to their own views and neither has given in. At the official conference, they still attacked each other. On the talks on reduction of intermediate-range missiles which all European countries are very concerned about, the Soviet side strongly held that it will not return to the conference table until the United States restores the situation to before the deployment of missiles in Europe, but the United States has not the slightest intention of doing this. European countries were disappointed in the sharp confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Madrid follow-up conference has set a target for the present Stockholm conference, that is, to formulate "a plan for newer, effective, and concrete action" in order to reduce the danger of sudden attacks and the outbreak of war. On this issue, the Warsaw Treaty countries and NATO countries are playing their own tunes and their views are widely divergent. The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries have put forward and adhered to six-point proposal, the essence of which is to call on the East and the West to sign an agreement on refraining from using armed force, and have also raised many principal subjects to discuss, such as not being the first country to use nuclear weapons and establishing non-nuclear areas. Soviet representatives said that this is the priority of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries at this conference. But the West responded to it coldly, believing that the discussion of these problems is beyond the scope of the Stockholm conference. The United States has criticized the Soviet Union for putting forward a "confrontational proposal to make things difficult" and "to seek superiority in propaganda." At the conference, the United States and its Western allies also put forward and adhered to a six-point proposal, which is summarized as "being more open," namely, the suggestions which were raised in the past and have long been rejected by the Soviet Union, such as asking the Soviet Union to exchange information on stationing of troops, to inform the other in advance of military exercises, and to keep on-the-spot surveillance of each other. The proposal was therefore promptly rejected by the Soviet Union, which

criticized it for "attempting to spy on information of the Soviet bloc for the United States and its allies" and "aiming at exposing the defense structure" of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries.

In addition to the proposals respectively raised by the United States and the Soviet Union, Romania put forth six principles for action, including intermediate-range missiles and the establishment of non-nuclear areas, and 15 concrete measures for strengthening cooperation and security, reflecting an urgent desire of medium and small European countries for Europe's security.

People still remember the chaotic situation at the previous two conferences on security and cooperation in Europe, at which the United States and the Soviet Union criticized each other. It seems that the Stockholm conference over the past month or so has not yet got rid of that situation. The possibility cannot be completely excluded that a compromise may finally be reached on some problems at the conference, as a result of mediation by some medium and small countries. At present, the U.S. general election is approaching and the United States is temporarily getting the upper hand in the deployment of new missiles in Europe. But the Soviet Union has just changed its leaders and it remains a question as to how much sound strategy and brilliant schemes they can offer. The Stockholm conference will probably also be a haggling and long-drawn-out marathon conference.

CSO: 4005/442

GENERAL

JOURNAL ON NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC RELATIONS

HK030830 Beijing GUOJI WENTI YANJIU in Chinese No 1, 15 Jan 84 pp 14-20

[Article by Jiang Jianqing [5592 1696 3237] and Li Weiguo [2621 5898 0948]: "The Essence of North-South Economic Relations" (footnote) (The North-South economic relations discussed in this article refer to the economic relations between the developing countries and developed countries in the capitalist world economic system; they by no means include developing socialist countries, neither do they refer to the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe)--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The North-South question is one of the outstanding issues in today's international relations. Following the war, with the collapse of the imperialist and colonialist systems, Third World demands for economic independence and development began to grow. In particular, the 1970's, which saw the development of the struggle to establish a new international economic order, pushed the Third World's fight against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism to a new stage. Meanwhile the developed nations, in an effort to retain their monopoly status in the world economic structure, made use of their formidable economic power to suppress the poor with riches; this in turn sharpened the contradiction between North and South to an extraordinary degree.

It is worth noting that the growth of the North-South struggle has given rise to an intense debate on the question of how one views North-South economic relations in the postwar years. Enlightened Westerners consider that changes have already occurred in these relations, such that the North and South economically "are becoming more and more interdependent," making "the whole world one big family." Certain Third World academics, on the other hand, are of the opinion that there has been no change in North-South relations since the war; they are the same as during the colonial era, such that the developing countries, which lie on the "periphery," remain "dependent" on the developed capitalist countries at the "center." In this article, we shall give our views on the evolution of postwar North-South economic relations and their essence.

I. Changes in Postwar North-South Relations

Before the Second World War, the vast majority of today's developing countries were the colonies or semicolonies of imperialist nations. Politically they were under imperialist control, while economically they had been reduced entirely to vassals of the imperialists. Following the war, this situation changed in several important ways.

/1. The Rise of the Third World./

"The rise of the Third World on the postwar international stage represents the greatest event of our era." Rising on the high tide of national liberation movements after the war, the vast majority of colonized and semicolonized countries won political independence, and the old colonial setup was pronounced dead. To protect their political independence, the new developing countries also launched the struggle for economic independence. The rise of the Third World inevitably brought about profound changes in the world political and economic situation, and equally inevitably had a direct effect on North-South economic relations; this effect was manifested primarily in the following spheres.

First, the political independence of the developing countries and the growth of their national economies restricted the scope of exploitation of Western monopoly capital. Many developing countries retrieved their rights to administer customs and issue currency, and took back the mines, factories, ports, and railways which had for many years been under the control of the previous suzerain states, nationalizing many transnational corporations. The developed countries already began to find it difficult to plunder and exploit the developing nations as wantonly as they had during the colonial period.

Second, the increasing economic power of the developing countries weakened the developed countries' control over the capitalist world economy. Overall, the developing countries have experienced swifter economic growth than the advanced nations. The average annual growth rate of their GNP was 4.7 percent from 1950 to 1960 (as compared with 4.1 percent during the same period in developed nations), 5.6 percent (5.0 percent) from 1960 to 1970, and 5.3 percent (3.1 percent) from 1970 to 1980. (Footnote 1) (World Bank "1980 Report" p 16, quoted in "The Third World in Global Development" 1982 p 25) In each decade, they developed faster than the developed countries. There was a gradual increase in the accumulation rate of the developing countries' domestic economies (the domestic accumulation rate of low-income developing countries increased from 17 percent in 1960 to 22 percent in 1980, while that of middle-income developing countries increased in the same period from 19 percent to 25 percent). (Footnote 2) (World Bank "Report on World Development 1982," 1982, p 25) There were also certain changes in the structure of national economic sectors and export commodities. The ratio of the industrial and labor sectors within the GNP rose, while that of agriculture fell. Accordingly, the ratio of manufactured goods in export commodities rose, raising the international borrowing status of these countries. Though there are vast

differences between the various developing countries (this will be discussed later), generally speaking there has been a rise in the economic power and status of these countries, and developed countries now have great difficulty in dominating the whole of the capitalist world economy.

Third, the developing countries' struggle to establish a new international economic order, and South-South cooperation, have taken the struggle against the domination of the capitalist world economy by the developed nations to a new stage. The various developing countries are no longer fighting in isolation, but are beginning to gather into a united force. The Group of '77, founded in 1964, has for many years kept up a tireless struggle, and has thereby won conditions and systems beneficial to the developing countries, such as the generalized preferential system, and so on; the Latin American nations took the lead in opposing the hegemony over the seas by the superpowers, and resolutely fought for rights over the 200 seas; OPEC and other organizations of raw materials producers have adopted a common stand and actions, launching the struggle to enjoy and exercise rights over their own raw materials; and in particular, documents like the "Proclamation on Establishing a New International Economic Order," the "Program for Action" and the "Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of Every Nation," passed at the United Nations in 1974, have lifted the Third World's struggle to establish a new world order to a new level and scale. The economic cooperation between the developing nations and the South-South cooperation have made similar progress. This has been of benefit both in promoting the growth of national economies and strengthening self-sufficiency and collective strength, and to taking a common and concerted stand, thereby strengthening the negotiating position of developing countries in the North-South dialogue.

In short, the rise of the Third World has brought about important changes in North-South relations. Though these changes are not yet nearly sufficient to liberate the Third World from the control and exploitation of the developed countries, the vast majority of Third World countries are no longer vassals of imperialism. They have now laid certain foundations for winning economic independence and improving their status in the world economy.

/2. The adoption of new colonialist methods by the developed countries to preserve their monopoly status./

Faced with the collapse of the colonial system and the rise of the Third World, the developed countries had no choice but to change their tactics; while on the surface recognizing the independence of developing countries, they used all sorts of methods to strengthen control over them and exploit them, trying to keep these countries within their sphere of influence, making them into investment areas, and raw materials sources, and commodity sales markets.

The growth of the transnational corporation has been the most conspicuous phenomenon of the postwar world economy. According to an investigative report by the UN Transnational Corporation Center in 1983, the 350 largest

transnational corporations in 1980 had 25,000 subsidiaries abroad, sales reaching around \$2,635 million, equivalent to 28 percent of the domestic GNP of all developed and nondeveloped market economy nations that year, and a net income of around \$1 billion. The same year, subsidiary companies established in the Third World reached 25,000 or 1/4 of all foreign subsidiaries of transnational corporations. Of these subsidiaries, the United States alone owned 40 percent. From 1971 to October 1980, direct investment by transnationals in the Third World increased from \$45 billion to \$119 billion. The expansion of transnational banks in the Third World was also extremely pronounced. Their creditors rights regarding developing countries leapt from \$89 billion at the end of 1975 to \$362 billion in 1982; credit was extended with harsh conditions, short terms, and high interest rates. The expansion of transnational corporations and banks in the Third World has been all-pervasive; it has to a greater or lesser extent kept under control the important economic sectors of many developing countries, exacting terrifying supermonopoly profits. Lenin once characterized the expansion of capital during the late 19th and early 20th centuries as "supermonopoly" (Footnote 3) (Lenin: "Imperialism Is the Highest Stage of Capitalism"), but if we compare it with the expansion of the transnational corporations and banks today, it pales into insignificance.

Another mainstay of the developed countries' control over the capitalist world economy was the establishment after the war of international currency, finance and trade systems, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. They have brandished the banner of "the free flow of funds," and "free trade" to clear a path for the expansion of Western monopoly capital into the Third World. For a long time now, ignoring the just calls of developing countries for the reform of the irrational international economic structure, the old monetary and financial setup, and the international trade system, the developing countries have stuck to their guns and protected their own interests. Though after many years of struggle the developing countries have improved their position in the capitalist world economic system, there has been no fundamental change in the basic situation of this system being controlled by a small number of developed nations. The developing countries continue to be the direct victims of this old international economic system.

In brief, following the collapse of the old colonial structure, the developed countries used new colonialist methods to maintain their monopoly position in the capitalist world economy. An examination of the various phenomena of postwar North-South relations should have this as its foundation.

/3. The deepening economic interdependence between North and South./

The capitalist world economy has expanded greatly since the war. The speedy growth of production, science and technology, the increasing extent of international division of labor, and the constant expansion of the scale of international economic contacts, have all greatly increased the extent of socialization and internationalization of production; in terms of

North-South relations, this has manifested itself in deepening economic interdependence between the two.

The increasing dependence of developed countries on developing countries is reflected in the following areas:

Energy resources. To a great extent, the postwar economic growth of the developing countries has depended on the plunder of cheap energy resources from the Third World. Changes in the structure of energy consumption and the swift rise in oil consumption increased the dependence of Western countries on the developing countries for energy. By the late 1970's, the oil-producing developing countries had captured 50 percent of oil production and 74 percent of exports, while developed countries depended on the developing countries for 75 percent of their oil requirements (95 percent in the case of Japan, West Germany and France). Following the oil war with the Third World, though the developed countries have done their best to substitute other energy resources and find new energy sources, various limiting factors have meant that for a long time they have continued to rely on Third World oil.

Raw materials supplies. The developing countries control about 60 percent of the world's major mineral resources and a part of agricultural product exports. The vast majority of Western Europe and Japan's major mineral resources are imported from developing countries. Almost all the coffee, cocoa, tea, rubber, and bananas consumed by the United States and Europe comes from the developing countries. In 1950, of the 13 basic industrial raw materials essential to modern U.S. industry, only 4 relied for more than half of the required quantity on imports (these were aluminium, manganese, nickel and tin); in 1970, this figure had risen to 6 (the above 4 materials plus zinc and chromium), and it is estimated that by 1985 it will have risen to 9 (including iron, lead, and tungsten), while by the end of the century, apart from phosphate, the other 12 materials will [depend] mainly on supplies from abroad, particularly from developing countries. (Footnote 4) (A er ta fu Gao ha [7093 1422 1044 1133 7559 0761] (editor): "South-South Strategy," 1983)

Investment areas. The ever more serious capital "surplus" among the developed countries since the war has consistently increased the role of the developing countries as investment areas. During the 1950's, the transfer of capital from the developed to the developing countries averaged \$5 billion per year; during the 1960's this figure exceeded \$10 billion, by the 1970's it had increased to \$38 billion, and the early 1980's have seen it increase to over \$100 billion. (Footnote 5) (According to the UN Transnational Corporation Center's "Salient Features and Trends in Direct Foreign Investment" (1983), tables 17 and 19)

Sales markets. World trade has grown rapidly since the war. From 1960 to 1980, export trade figures rose 14.5 times, while export sales volume increased 2.7 times, the developing countries continued to be the main trade target of the developed countries. In 1981, the developing countries introduced 37 percent of total U.S. exports, 40 percent of EC exports

(excluding internal trade), and 44 percent of Japanese exports. (Footnote 6)
(Report of the UNCTAD Secretariat Secretary to the sixth session of the
UN Conference on Trade and Development, Chinese edition p 25)

As for the developing countries, though the development strategies they adopted and the roads to development they took were not necessarily identical, due to the basic weakness of their economies before independence, they could not but depend to a great extent on the developed countries in terms of funds, technology, and markets to develop their national economies after independence. From the point of view of funds, since the developing countries had very little basis on which to accumulate funds domestically, they relied heavily on foreign funds; and by the end of 1982, outstanding debts had reached \$626 billion. In the sphere of technology, since over 95 percent of the newest discoveries were in the hands of the developed countries (most of which inventions were in turn in the hands of trans-national corporations), the developing countries had no choice but to rely onesidedly on technological transfer from developed countries. In addition, for a long time, developing countries relied on the markets of developed countries for three quarters of their trade, and were, therefore, highly sensitive to these markets. It is necessary to point out that there have also been some changes since the war in the spheres in which developed countries have relied on developing countries. For example, before and immediately after the war, developing countries exported grain to developed countries, but due to various factors, for the last 10 or 20 years they have instead been importing large quantities of grain from the developed countries. In 1978 and 1979 the average amount of grain imported by developing countries reached 36.4 million tons, and it is estimated that this figure will rise to 72 million tons by 1990, resulting in heavier dependence on the developed countries.

Of course, while analyzing the growing economic interdependence of North and South since the war, it must be realized that the two kinds of dependence are completely different. The increasing economic dependence of developed on developing countries is a manifestation of the growing decay and parasitism of Western monopoly capital, and is essentially a case of the developed countries attaching themselves to the developing countries.

II. The Essence of North-South Economic Relations

Though important changes have taken place in postwar North-South relations, these changes have failed basically to shake the monopoly status of the developed countries in the capitalist world economic system, or to change their essential character of exploiting and being exploited.

/1. Economic control over the developing countries./

Today, developed countries continue to a greater or lesser extent to control certain major economic sectors of the developing countries. The mineral and agricultural raw materials sectors have always been the areas most under the control of Western monopoly capital. Statistics show that

in the 1970's, transnational corporations continued to control directly or indirectly 75 to 90 percent of the raw minerals and metals of developing countries, and 30 to 40 percent of their agricultural raw materials.

(Footnote 7) ([UN Transnational] Corporation Center: "The Role of the Transnational Corporation in World Development: Third Investigation," Chinese edition 1983) The foreign trade of developing countries was also to a great extent manipulated by transnational corporations. To take grain and agricultural product exports in 1980 for example, the 15 biggest transnational corporations controlled 85 to 90 percent of total exports from developing countries of wheat, coffee, maize, cotton, tobacco, and jute, 70 to 85 percent of rice, cocoa, tea, bananas, and natural rubber, and 60 percent of sugar exports. (Footnote 8) (See Footnote 7) Since the mid-1960's, in order to get out of the so-called "structural crisis" of the developed countries' economies, and in order to deal with nationalization and other measures adopted by developing nations to limit foreign capital, Western monopoly capital, on the one hand, has begun to concentrate investment in the manufacturing and service industries of developing countries, and to strengthen their control over such secondary areas as the processing and sales of energy resources and minerals; on the other hand, it has adopted various methods to strengthen technological transfer, taking advantage of its vast technological superiority to control covertly certain economic sectors of the developing countries (especially the manufacturing industries). According to statistics, the income of OECD countries from transfer of technology to developing countries rose from \$610 million in 1970 to \$2.6 billion in 1980, an average annual increase rate of 15.6 percent, higher than the growth rate of direct investment abroad. Of these countries, the United States has been getting 19 percent of its total foreign investment income from technological transfer. (Footnote 9) (See Footnote 7)

There is a great difference in character and extent between the control of the developed countries over the various types of developing countries. With regard to the low-income countries (with the partial exception of India) and most of the oil-importing middle-income countries, Western monopoly capital uses all possible means to maintain the monolithic economic structure of these countries in an effort to plunder them as sources of cheap raw materials. Statistics show that by the 1970's there were still 85 countries and regions of the Third World whose export trade relied on only one or a very few primary products. The lopsided development of their economies brought extremely serious consequences to these developing countries, leaving them no choice but to rely to a great extent on developing countries for investment and aid.

As for oil-exporting developing countries, having lost the right of control over the recovery and price-fixing of crude oil, Western monopoly capital began instead to strengthen its control over processing, sales and other secondary sectors. In 1980, 80 percent of the international oil trade was controlled by transnational corporations. A considerable amount of the "petrodollars" of oil-producing countries was also invested in transnational banks. Since they began to fight back in the 1970's, however, the status of the oil-producing countries has improved tremendously. But

their continuing control over the secondary sectors of the oil industry has brought the transnational oil corporations huge profits. From 1971 to 1980, total sales figures of these transnational oil corporations increased about 7 times, while their foreign sales figure increased 24 times, increasing from about one-sixth of the total sales figures to over one-half. (Footnote 10) (See Footnote 7)

With regard to the newly industrialized countries, the control of Western monopoly capital has taken another form. The vast majority of private direct investment from advanced countries has poured into these countries. Since the latter part of the 1970's, the six countries or regions of Brazil, Argentina, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Mexico, and Singapore alone have been the target of one-half to three-quarters of all direct Western foreign investment in most years. The Third World's "debt crisis" over the last few years has also occurred mainly in these countries. Since the 1970's, transnational corporations have entered the manufacturing industries of these countries on a huge scale. According to UN statistics for 1983, transnational corporations have been responsible for over one-third of the total exports of finished products from these countries and regions. In Singapore, this proportion has reached over 90 percent; in Brazil, over 40 percent; and about 1/3 in Argentina, South Korea, and Mexico. Industrial sectors such as the car manufacturing industry, the electronic equipment industry, and the chemical industry in such Latin American countries as Brazil and Mexico are almost totally controlled by transnational corporations.

/2. Increasing exploitation of developing countries./

The direct aim of the economic expansion of Western monopoly capital into developing countries is the extraction of supermonopoly profits. With the strengthening of private and national monopoly in postwar advanced countries, the exploitative methods adopted by these countries with regard to the developing countries have become even more ingenious and ruthless. The profit rates gained by Western transnational corporate investment in developing countries is not only far higher than their domestic profit rates (about twice as high), but is also higher than the profit rates gained in other developed countries. In 1979 and 1980, the profit rates gained by transnational corporations in developing countries amounted to 32 percent and 24.7 percent, respectively, while these rates in developed countries for the same years were only 19.2 and 16.6 percent, respectively. (Footnote 11) (See Footnote 7) The underhanded methods used by the transnational corporations have meant that the developing countries have gained only tiny profits from exports of their own goods. Those developing countries which produce nonfuel minerals and agricultural products get no more than one-tenth of the final price paid by endusers for these goods when exported.

Another important channel of Third World exploitation by developed countries is interest on debts. Between 1971 and 1982, developing country debts increased nearly 6 times, at an average annual increase rate of 19.3 percent; of this, interest on debts rose over 17 times, at an annual average rate

of 30.2 percent. From 1976 to 1982, outstanding foreign debts of developing countries rose by \$406 billion, while total debt servicing amounted to 212.8 billion over the same period, or 52 percent of the total increase in debt. (Footnote 12) (According to figures published in a special supplement to Japan's THE ECONOMIST, 14 March 1983) Debts by developing countries both brought large amounts of interest to developing countries, and formed an invisible set of chains binding the developing nations tightly. Moreover, the developing nations clearly used their monopoly over prices in the trading sphere to exploit the developing nations. Statistics show that worsening trade conditions between 1951 and 1971 (as compared to 1950) caused the developing nations losses amounting to \$122.2 billion. Inflation in manufactured goods prices during 1978 meant that the developing nations spent \$30 billion more on imports of these goods. And from 1981 to 1982, when the developed nations forced down the price of developing countries' exports in an effort to shift their own crisis, the income of the developing nations fell by \$20 billion (this figure excludes figures for oil). (Footnote 13) (See Footnote 6) Exploitation by the developed nations constitutes the most basic factor in the poverty and backwardness of the developed nations, and forms the "solid basis of the capitalist decay of a tiny number of the richest nations." (Footnote 14) (Lenin: "Imperialism is the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Chinese translation, separate volume, p 57)

/3. Shifting the economic crisis onto the developing countries./

In all the crises of the world capitalist economy since the war, though they have given rise to intense competition between the developed countries, which have tried to shift their troubles onto each other, the main target for shifting these crises has been the developing countries. In a crisis, the developed countries adopt all sorts of protectionist measures in an effort to limit and minimize the amount of imports from the Third World, and to force down commodity prices; at the same time, they do their best to expand sales to developing countries and keep up monopoly prices. Therefore, it is the developing countries which are the worst victims of the crisis. Statistics show that in the crisis period from 1973 to 1975, the prices of bananas, wood, and tin exported from ASEAN countries fell by 52 percent, 67 percent and 29 percent of their pre-crisis levels, respectively. During the crisis period from the end of 1979 to 1982, the real price of many primary products from developing countries fell to their lowest level in 15 years.

The developed countries also made use of the difficult position of the developing countries to strengthen their control over the monetary and financial spheres. This meant that the debt burden on developing countries became increasingly heavy. Moreover, the crisis periods and the severe fluctuations on the money markets before and after them caused losses to the developing countries in many aspects. In previous crisis, the U.S. dollar has weakened and repeatedly lost value, causing repeated cuts in the real value of international deposits of those developing countries whose deposits were mainly in U.S. dollars. During the crisis from the end of 1979 to 1982, though the U.S. dollar strengthened, the high-interest-rate

policy pursued by the developed countries put the developing countries into even worse difficulties. According to UNCTAD statistics, each 1 percent rise in interest rates meant that the developing countries had to pay \$5 billion to \$6 billion more in interest. Moreover, for the last few years, of the total amount of loans won by the developing countries from the developed countries, the proportion of official loans on preferential terms has fallen, while that of nonpreferential loans on the capital market (especially short-term loans) has increased; this has in turn increased the burden on the developing countries even more.

It is due precisely to the above reasons that there is still such tremendous disparity between the economic strength of the developed and the developing countries. By 1980, Western developed countries, which made up only 15.4 percent of the world's population, were responsible for 64.8 percent of the world's total output value; while the developing countries, which account for over half of the world's population, are responsible for only 19 percent of the world's total output value. Of the various types of developing countries, though there has been some improvement in the economic status of the oil-exporting countries and the newly industrialized countries, these account for only a minority of countries and regions, while the status of most of the low-income nations (about 30 nations) has constantly fallen (from 3.4 percent of the total world output value in 1955 to only 2.3 percent in 1980). (Footnote 15) (See Footnote 2) In the postwar decades, the wealth gap between North and South has not only failed to shrink, it has expanded further. From 1950 to 1980, the per capita GNP in developed countries increased at a rate of 3.1 percent, that of middle-income developing countries at a rate of 3 percent, and that of low-income developing countries at a rate of only 1.3 percent. At present, over half of all developing countries have a per capita GNP of below \$1,000, while that of the developed countries has now reached in excess of \$10,000. The breadth of the gap between rich and poor, and the reality of North-South relations, cannot be concealed.

III. Some Conclusions

From the above analysis of North-South economic relations, of these relations:

1. In essence, North-South economic relations consist of control, exploitation, and plunder of the developing countries by the developed countries. Basically, the North-South contradiction consists of a struggle between the developed countries and the developing countries for and against control, exploitation, and plunder. Even today, the bulk of developing countries have not yet managed to get out of their poverty and backwardness, and their national economies have not achieved the results they should have, and while there have been many internal and external reasons for this, the main reason is none other than control and exploitation by the developed countries.

2. The monopoly status of the developed countries in the capitalist world economic system represents the core issue of North-South economic relations. If the developing countries are to improve their inferior position in the

capitalist world economic system, change the balance of power between North and South, and gradually lessen and eventually break away from their economic reliance on the developed nations, they must constantly weaken and finally break down the monopoly status of these nations. This will be an arduous, tortuous, and protracted struggle.

3. The simultaneous coexistence of interdependence and dependency [yi fu 0181 7096] in North-South economic relations is a historical phenomenon of the capitalist world economic system, and one of which Marx and Engels long ago made an accurate analysis. (Footnote 16) (See the relevant theories of Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto") The word "interdependence" has the following implication: along with the development of capitalism, and the formation and expansion of the world market, the various different countries in the world have formed common dependent relations on the basis of the internationalization of production and the international division of labor. At present, such interdependence exists not only between developing and developed countries, but between developed countries themselves, and between capitalist and socialist countries. Although these relations are referred to by the same word, "interdependence," they have very different characteristics. During the imperialist colonial period, the relationship between colonies or semicolonies and the suzerain states consisted of dependency. Today, this relationship still exists to a greater or lesser extent between the developing and the developed countries in economic terms. It is of a completely different character to the interdependent relationship obtaining between developed countries and between capitalist and socialist nations.

4. The crucial point of the theory of "interdependence" posited by enlightened Westerners is precisely that it conceals the essence of North-South relations, which is exploiting and being exploited. Leaving aside the exploitation of developing countries by developed countries and talking about "the whole world as one big family," the "common crisis," and "common prosperity," creates the illusion that the North-South economic relationship is an equal one, and can only result in confusing the direction in which the developing countries must take their struggle making them accept the exploitation of monopoly capital under the old international economic order. Of course, certain representatives of the enlightened Western school, seeing the historical tide of Third World countries winning the right to control their national economies, and aware of the crisis facing the old international economic structure, support the idea of North-South dialogue and global negotiations, and are demanding that the developed nations make some concessions to the developing countries in the spheres of trade, finance, and technology; this should definitely not be denied. But on the essential question of North-South relations, they take a fundamentally different stand to that of the Third World; we must also be perfectly clear on this point.

Those academics who support the "theory of dependence" [yi fu lun 0181 7096 6158] thoroughly expose the exploitation of developing countries by Western monopoly capital, and this is without doubt correct. But it would be inappropriate not to see the important changes which have taken place

in North-South economic relations since the war, or to underestimate their significance. Only by clarifying the essential exploitation involved in North-South economic relations on the basis of these changes is it possible for the Third World to become clear on the question of the direction their struggle is to take, and to strengthen their confidence in victory.

5. The objective justification for the fight to establish a new international economic order by the developing countries is precisely the exploitation and control of developing by developed nations. The developing countries have already won certain results in this fight. With the continuing and constant increase in the economic power of these countries, and the further strengthening of their unity, the fight to establish a new international economic order will continue to progress.

CSO: 4005/442

SOVIET UNION

BEIJING REPORTERS VISIT SOVIET MEDICAL EXHIBIT

OW141433 Beijing in Russian to the USSR 1800 GMT 13 Mar 84

[Correspondence: "In the Soviet Pavilion at the Beijing International Exhibition of Medical Apparatus and Instruments"]

[Excerpts] Dear Soviet radio listeners: An international exhibition of medical apparatus and instruments organized by the China Council for Promotion of International Trade was held in Beijing from 27 February to 7 March. More than 200 companies from 11 countries, including the Soviet Union, Japan, the United States, Italy, the FRG, UK, France, Denmark, Austria, Sweden, and Switzerland took part in the exhibition.

This was the first time the Soviet Union participated in an exhibition organized in China since the 1960's. More than 60,000 people visited the exhibition in the 10 days.

The exhibits and books at the Soviet pavilion attracted many visitors daily. With great interest they asked Soviet workers how to use various instruments and asked about their features. Some visitors spoke with the Soviet comrades in Russian, requested the necessary technical documents, and asked various questions.

In the Soviet pavilion we spoke to a young man, a worker of the health department of the PLA General Logistics Department. He said: I am very happy to have the opportunity to learn about the Soviet Union's achievements in the medical apparatus sphere. The Soviet exhibit has certain features. We should adopt the advanced medical and health technology of the Soviet Union and other countries. For example, the Yelizarov remote compression apparatus used in clinical orthopedics and traumatology has many advantages. It attracted great interest. Soviet participation in this exhibition serves the interests of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union. Personally, I am glad that the Soviet Union is participating in this exhibition. After all, this is also one of the ways to promote mutual understanding.

In the visitors book of the Soviet pavilion many Chinese visitors wrote in Chinese and Russian that they hoped that friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples would develop and strengthen steadily.

(Kharchen Gevartkovich) Oganessian, director of the Soviet exhibit, told a correspondent of our radio:

[Begin Oganessian recording] As far as my impressions of the visitors are concerned, they are most favorable. We are impressed with the Chinese visitors; they are marking the participation of the Soviet Union at the exhibition with great interest. We note the large number of visitors and the gradual daily increase in the number of visitors. [end recording]

He also said: This makes us happy. We most highly assess the interest of the Chinese side in our exhibit.

During the exhibition four scientists of the Soviet delegation held a scientific exchange with their Chinese colleagues. A scientific report, which evoked great interest among Chinese physicians, was delivered by Academician Meshalkin, a well-known Soviet heart surgeon. At the same time talks were held between trade representatives of China and the Soviet Union.

For the first time after more than 20 years the Soviet Union took part in an exhibition organized in China. This was a happy event in the trade circles of both countries. Wan Li, vice premier of the State Council, on request, left the following inscription when he visited the Soviet pavilion: I wish ever greater development of the friendship of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union and of the two countries' trade.

Gu Mu, PRC state councillor, met Yevgeniy Pitovranov, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, who arrived in China at the invitation of the China Council for Promotion of International Trade for a visit and to supervise activities in connection with Soviet Pavilion Day at the exhibition. During their friendly talk Gu Mu and Comrade Pitovranov happily noted the development of PRC-Soviet trade relations during the past 2 years. Gu Mu said that we warmly welcome everything that contributes to the development of relations of friendship between China and the Soviet Union. He emphasized that there was an enormous potential for developing cooperation between the two countries in the economic, trade, and technical spheres.

On the eve of the exhibition's close, 6 March, a reporter from our radio interviewed Soviet exposition director Oganessian.

Briefly describing the trade relations between the USSR and China during the past years, he said: We have in fact stable, constant contacts. We are happy that these contacts are expanding and deepening. These contacts promote a better mutual understanding and normalization [nalazhivaniyu] of our friendly relations. I take this opportunity to personally thank the China Council for Promotion of International Trade and all Beijing organizations that took part in preparing our exhibit. They helped us greatly and without their help our exhibit would not have been successful.

The Soviet delegation toured places of interest in Beijing during its stay in the capital. Most of the Soviet delegation's members will leave Beijing for home on 16 March.

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

SRV'S NGUYEN CO THACH ENDS VISIT TO INDONESIA

OW140855 Beijing XINHUA in English 0835 GMT 14 Mar 84

[Text] Beijing, 13 Mar (XINHUA)--Indonesia and Vietnam today agreed on the need to solve the problem in Southeast Asia, although no concrete plan was mentioned in regard to the Kampuchean issue, news reports from Jakarta said.

A joint statement issued after two rounds of talks between Indonesian and Vietnamese foreign ministers Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja and Nguyen Co Thach, said that they agreed no foreign power should interceded in Southeast Asia, and "the failure to settle the problem in this region would only benefit third parties."

Mokhtar said Nguyen Co Thach had in fact rejected ASEAN's proposal made last September which called for a zone-by-zone withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea beginning from the Kampuchean-Thai border. Hanoi's excuse was that the proposal was a request for a "unilateral" withdrawal which they could not accept.

Commenting on Thach's claim that Vietnam would pull out more troops from Kampuchea in the next few months, the English-language Indonesian newspaper THE JAKARTA POST DAILY said in an editorial on March 12 that "We hope the so-called troop withdrawal this time will not be merely troop replacement." "But the most desirable one is Vietnamese troops' withdrawal from the areas bordering with Thailand. If it comes true, it's a step forward in easing tension in this region," the editorial stressed.

Mokhtar told reporters after the departure of Nguyen Co Thach that Vietnam was "not ready to negotiate" on the Kampuchean issue. While describing his talks with Thach as "fruitful," Mokhtar said he and Thach had concluded on the note that the "situation should be left as it is". He said he had accepted an invitation from Thach to visit Hanoi.

CSO: 4000/252

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

NGUYEN CO THACH REJECTS KAMPUCHEAN TROOP PULLOUT

OW141520 Beijing XINHUA in English 1456 GMT 14 Mar 84

[Text] Beijing, 14 Mar (XINHUA)--Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach told reporters in Jakarta yesterday that Vietnam would not accept ASEAN's call for a zone by zone pull-out of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, as put forward in an ASEAN proposal last September, reports from the Indonesian capital said.

He called the ASEAN call for troop withdrawal a "unilateral" withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. There are only Vietnamese foreign troops in Kampuchea.

Thach said that Vietnam hoped Indonesia would explain Hanoi's stand to its ASEAN partners. Indonesia is the only country that could be a bridge between Indochina and ASEAN, he said.

Before his departure for Australia yesterday, Thach and Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja issued a statement, saying that "on future relations of Southeast Asia, Indonesia and Vietnam agreed on the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-interference and intervention by outside powers" and the failure to settle the problem "would only benefit third parties."

The statement did not mention any plan to solve the situation in Kampuchea, which is occupied by 180,000 Vietnamese troops.

CSO: 4000/252

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

CGDK'S SON SANN DISCUSSES RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

OW091529 Beijing XINHUA in English 1435 GMT 9 Mar 84

[Text] Beijing, 9 Mar (XINHUA)--The force of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea [CGDK] have taken the initiative against the Vietnamese occupation troops and are optimistic about eventual victory, the Coalition Government's Prime Minister Son Sann said in Singapore today, according to reports received here.

Son Sann, who is also president of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front, arrived in Singapore for a six-day visit. He told reporters at the Singapore airport that the three groups in the coalition "have a common desire to oust the Vietnamese and to liberate our country." "We jointly stand by the coalition agreement," he added.

"After five years of struggle," Son Sann said, "I can say that we look to the future with optimism." He noted, "The coalition government and the Khmer People's National Liberation Front have been able to score victories over the Vietnamese aggressors internationally and in the country."

On the developments in the Kampuchean battlefields, Son Sann said, "All the resistance forces are now fighting the Vietnamese strongly. Most of us have the initiative now." About a possible Vietnamese dry season offensive, he said, "We are prepared to meet all eventualities."

Referring to his visit to Singapore, Son Sann said that he would meet Singapore leaders to exchange views on how "to bring our struggle to a successful end in as short a period as possible."

CSO: 4000/252

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

MALAYSIA PLEDGES CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR CGDK

OW151922 Beijing XINHUA in English 0854 GMT 15 Mar 84

[Text] Beijing, 15 Mar (XINHUA)--Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed today pledged Malaysia's continued support and humanitarian assistance to the Democratic Kampuchean Coalition Government in his talks with the visiting Prime Minister of the Coalition Son Sann, reports from Kuala Lumpur said.

Zakaria Ali, secretary general of the Malaysian Foreign Ministry, told reporters after the talks that Son Sann had outlined the current situation in Kampuchea for Mahathir, saying that there is "better coordination and unity among the three resistance forces of the coalition government."

Zakaria, who joined the talks, said Son Sann also informed Mahathir that the resistance forces are able to attack and harass the Vietnamese occupying forces, putting Vietnam in a very bad position.

Son Sann said that opposition to the "Vietnamization" of Kampuchea is growing and defections from the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea are increasing, Zakaria reported.

Zakaria said that Mahathir was happy with the tremendous progress made by the coalition government since its formation in 1982 and pledged to continue supporting the coalition.

Mahathir added that there could be no stability in Southeast Asia as long as Vietnam remains in Kampuchea and he felt every effort should be made to get Vietnam out of Kampuchea, according to Zakaria.

Son Sann arrived in Kuala Lumpur yesterday following a visit to Singapore with a three-member delegation of senior officials of his Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF). He is expected to hold talks with other top Malaysian officials.

CSO: 4000/252

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

RENMIN RIBAO REFUTES SRV'S 'FALSE' CLAIMS

OW121157 Beijing XINHUA in English 1132 GMT 12 Mar 84

[Text] Beijing, 12 Mar (XINHUA)--The PEOPLE'S DAILY says today that Vietnam's latest accusations against China can only prove that it is in a desperate predicament both internally and internationally and that its hostility to China remains unchanged.

In a commentator's article, the paper adds that the accusations also indicate that Vietnam is more deeply bogged down in its war of aggression against Kampuchea.

The article says that marking the fifth anniversary of their alleged "triumph over China," the Vietnamese authorities have been raising a hue and cry against China. But it is known to all that the Chinese frontier guards achieved a victory of historic significance five years ago when they, driven beyond forbearance by the Vietnamese provocations, fought back in self-defense, the article notes.

It says the Chinese victory not only gave Vietnam a fit punishment but also constituted a telling blow and grim warning to the Vietnamese authorities for their aggression against Kampuchea and hegemonism in Southeast Asia.

The article says Vietnam has tried to cover up its aggression against Kampuchea and its refusal to pull its troops out of that country under the pretext of an alleged "threat" from China. The article points out that China pursues a foreign policy for the maintenance of peace and opposition to hegemonism. It never launched aggression against other countries, nor its stations troops outside its territory. Therefore, Vietnam's allegation about a "threat" from China is sheer nonsense.

The article says that since Vietnam invaded Kampuchea at the end of 1978, China has always given material and moral support to the patriotic resistance forces of Kampuchea and made joint efforts with countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and other justice-holding countries to urge Vietnam to stop its war of aggression and pull its forces out of Kampuchea. As long as the Vietnamese authorities refuse to do so, the article warns, such efforts will continue.

The article says the lesson the Vietnamese authorities should draw from their five-year aggression is that Vietnam can find no way out by persisting in aggression and expansion. This is because, the article notes, neither the Kampuchean people will lay down their arms and submit to Vietnamese enslavement, nor the ASEAN countries will accept the Vietnamese aggression as a fait accompli which directly threatens Thailand and other ASEAN countries. Besides, the Vietnamese authorities' anti-China ploy to divert their people's attention cannot last for long as the Vietnamese people's resentment against the authorities' policy of aggression and expansion is growing stronger, the article says.

CSO: 4000/252

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

KAMPUCHEAN RADIO DENOUNCES SRV WITHDRAWAL 'TRICK'

OW130802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0658 GMT 13 Mar 84

[Text] Beijing, 13 Mar (XINHUA)--Radio Democratic Kampuchea in a commentary today dismissed as trick Vietnam's new proposal for the settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

The radio said there is nothing new in the remarks made by Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach in recent days that "Vietnam will once again pull part of its troops out of Kampuchea in 1984." "Vietnam is willing to accept and discuss proposals from all the other sides concerned" and "every side should make concessions and compromises."

The radio pointed out that Vietnam has time and again announced partial troop withdrawal from Kampuchea, but in fact it has not pulled a single man out of that country. On the contrary, the radio said, it has reinforced its troops and sent more arms including tanks into Kampuchea.

The radio said Vietnam's position on the Kampuchean problem remains unchanged because it rejects the UN resolutions on Kampuchea and refuses to pull its troops out of Kampuchea, ignoring the demand of the world community. Therefore, the radio said, it is the hope of the Kampuchean people that the people of Southeast Asia and the rest of the world will continue to exert pressure on Vietnam and force it to implement the relevant UN resolutions, pull out its troops and allow the Kampuchean people to decide their own destiny.

CSO: 4000/252

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

CGDK FORCES 'GETTING STRONGER'--Beijing, 14 Mar (XINHUA)--Kampuchean resistance forces are steadily gaining in strength and getting deeper and deeper every day into the interior of Kampuchea, said Prime Minister of the Kampuchean Coalition Government Son Sann at a press conference in Singapore yesterday. According to press reports from Singapore, the visiting prime minister said, "The successes of our forces prove that we are now in a position to hit the enemy in various places." Son Sann said the expected dry season offensive by the Vietnamese troops has not materialized because the resistance forces have carried out pre-emptive attacks against Vietnamese troops' rear positions and logistic bases. The resistance forces are determined to oppose the colonization of Kampuchea by Vietnam and to mobilize all their strength in order to speed up the liberation of the country, the prime minister said. Son Sann demanded that Vietnam withdraw its troops from Kampuchea at once in order to end the Kampuchean conflict. During his visit to Singapore beginning March 9, Son Sann had met with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and informed him of the latest developments in Kampuchea. Son Sann left Singapore today to visit Malaysia. [Text] [OW141251 Beijing XINHUA in English 1116 GMT 14 Mar 84]

SRV FOREIGN MINISTER'S TOUR--Bangkok, 7 Mar (XINHUA)--A Bangkok English newspaper today describes Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach's visit to Indonesia and Australia as a "diplomatic offensive" aimed at splitting ASEAN countries. In an editorial entitled "Thach's Vain Diplomacy To Split ASEAN," THE NATION REVIEW says: Vietnam has launched this diplomatic offensive, because its occupation of Kampuchea and the war against the resistance forces are not going well. The resistance forces have blown up a petroleum products complex near Phnum Kraom and there have been attacks on both Battambang and Siem Reap, with an airfield also being rendered useless. The vaunted dry-season offensive has not materialized. "Under this set of circumstances, Hanoi has obviously decided to launch a diplomatic offensive to counter the solid stand taken by ASEAN on the Kampuchean problem," the editorial says. Thach, however, is "barking up the wrong tree since there will never arise the slightest differences of opinion where the occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnam is concerned," the editorial says. The editorial points out, "We do not have an iota of doubt that Thach will utterly fail to get ASEAN to change its solid and totally united stand on Kampuchea." [Text] [OW090825 Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 9 Mar 84]

CSO: 4000/252

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

JOURNAL DESCRIBES RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA

HK070728 Beijing GUOJI WENTI YANGJIU in Chinese No 1, 13 Jan 84 pp 21-26

[Article by Zhong He [6988 0735]: "The Development of Sino-Latin American Friendly Relations"]

[Text] Despite the geographical distance between China and Latin America, the vast Pacific Ocean has never proved an insurmountable barrier to contacts between the Chinese and Latin American peoples. Some Chinese and foreign scholars believe that Chinese people reached the American continent before Christopher Columbus. Fossilized maize dating back 4,000 years has been discovered in China; maize, like potatoes and tomatoes, originated in the Latin American region. According to the records of one of China's history books, "The Barbarians, the Book of Liang," in the 5th century A.D., Buddhist monks from China arrived at "Fu Sang" [Japan]. Some scholars believe, based on the geographical position, customs, and so on, recorded in the "Book of Liang," that the country of "Fu Sang" was in fact ancient Mexico. Certain historical documents uncovered by ancient historians also provide evidence that ancient Chinese culture had a marked influence on Latin America. According to existing written records, trade contacts can be traced back over 400 years. At that time, such world famous Chinese wares as silk and ceramics already enjoyed wide sales on the flourishing markets of Mexico, Peru, and other countries. Silver currency from Mexico and other Latin American countries also played an important role in the circulation and development of our own currency. During the 19th century, large numbers of "contract workers" were abducted by colonialists to Latin America, where they sweated blood with the native workers to develop the American continent, making a magnificent contribution to the task. During the Qing Dynasty, diplomatic envoys were sent for the first time between China and such countries as Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Cuba, and Panama, and official diplomatic relations were established. In the 30 or so years following the 1911 revolution, as China began to gradually extricate itself from isolationism, and to strengthen contacts with the outside world, diplomatic relations were established with even more Latin American countries. However, successive years of war, the corruption and weakness of the KMT government, China's backward economy, and its low international status, meant that real contacts between China and Latin America were very few, and relations developed extremely slowly. Only with the founding of new China in 1979 did Sino-Latin American relations enter a new stage of

growth. Below, I shall review the development of these relations over the 30 or so years since the founding of new China, and put forward some brief views on the prospects for further development.

I.

Broadly speaking, since the founding of new China, the development of Sino-Latin American relations has passed through three stages: nongovernmental contact, a period of setbacks, and the establishment of diplomatic relations.

1. The 1950's was a period of intense cold war on the international front, and there appeared in Latin America a reactionary countercurrent of dictatorial regimes, while certain genuinely nationalist regimes, such as Guatemala's Arbenz government, the Vargas regime in Cuba, and the Peron government in Argentina, were subverted and overthrown one by one. Since new China had been established only a short time previously, Latin American countries generally lacked understanding of it, while at the same time Latin America was in the control of the United States and therefore influenced by U.S. policies of hostility to and blockading of China. Consequently, not one Latin American country established diplomatic relations with us. The Latin American region was a blank as far as diplomatic relations went, added to which very little was happening in the sphere of economic and trade ties: Total trade figures between the two sides from 1950 to 1958 amounted to only \$23 million. Relations between China and Latin American countries, then, were limited purely to certain nongovernmental contacts.

At that time, these nongovernmental contacts consisted mainly of visits by friendly people and literature and art groups from both sides. The founding of new China produced a strong reaction in Latin America, and certain friendly people took the trouble to cross the vast distances to visit us in the hope of finding out more about our new nation. Statistics show that between the years of 1950 and 1959, over 1,200 people from 19 Latin American nations came to China; these included statesmen, journalists, businessmen, professors, doctors, lawyers, authors, artists, and so on. Meanwhile, groups of workers, women, youths, and others, 16 delegations in all, visited a total of 8 Latin American countries. This sort of nongovernmental visit served to deepen mutual understanding between the Chinese and Latin American peoples, and at the same time laid the foundations for the further development of friendship between the two sides. One thing particularly worth mentioning is the exceptional contributions made by certain famous persons from Latin America to the promotion of Sino-Latin American friendship upon their return from visits to China. These people included Salvador Allende, wan-tu-le-li, [8001 1778 0519 6849] and Pablo Neruda of Chile, Generals Lazaro Cardenas and Ha-la [0761 2139] of Mexico, and so on. They gave much enthusiastic publicity to China, and helped set up Chinese cultural and friendship groups in Chile, Mexico, Argentina, Cuba, Bolivia, Uruguay, Peru, Venezuela, and Colombia. These groups actively supported the restoration of China's seat in the United Nations, demanded the establishment of diplomatic relations with China, and made great efforts to promote friendship between the people of their respective countries and the people of China.

2. In the 1960's, influenced by the victorious overthrow of the Batista dictatorship by the Cuban people, the countries and people of Latin America rose on a wave of national independence and the struggle for democratic rights, severely damaging the hegemonistic status of the United States in the region. In 1960, Cuba established diplomatic relations with China, opening a new chapter in the relations between China and the nations of Latin America. Building on this, China worked actively to strengthen ties with Latin America. Chinese leaders such as Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou personally received guests from Latin America, and explained to them China's domestic and foreign policies. In 1964 and 1965, respectively, Chairman Mao gave speeches in support of the just struggle of the Panamanian people for the return of sovereignty over the Panama Canal, and in support of the Dominican people's opposition to U.S. armed invasion, both of which had enormous influence in the Latin American region. The general populace of Latin America and some of its nations' leaders gained further understanding of China; there were marked increases in nongovernmental contacts between China and Latin America; and China set up permanent news and trade organizations in Chile, Mexico, and Brazil. Trade also increased sharply: Total figures for 1965 (excluding trade with Cuba) amounted to \$120 million, a five-fold increase over the total figure for 1950-1958.

In general, however, U.S. policies toward China at the time continued to have great influence over Latin American states. At the same time, changes in the governments of certain Latin American countries meant changes in attitudes to China. Following the Cuban military coup in 1964, nine Chinese trade and news workers stationed in Cuba were arrested without justification, causing setbacks in the development of relations between the two countries. With the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in China, due to the interference of the extreme "leftist" line pursued by the Lin Biao and Gang of Four counterrevolutionary cliques, China's foreign work suffered serious losses, while initial successes made in the development of Sino-Latin American relations in the early '60's were destroyed. For several years following 1967, even nongovernmental contacts between the two almost ground to a halt, and trade dropped sharply, falling to about \$10 million per year. This represents the second period of development of Sino-Latin American relations.

3. From the 1970's onward, great changes took place in Sino-Latin American relations, which entered a new period characterized by the establishment of diplomatic relations. The late 1960's and early 1970's witnessed a high tide in Latin American nationalist movements, causing a further weakening in the hegemonistic position of the United States. Governments of a stronger nationalist character came to power in Peru and Chile; these regimes did away with the old policies toward China and actively supported the development of friendly relations with us. In 1970, the Allende government in Chile for the first time established diplomatic relations with China, becoming the second Latin American government to do so. With the restoration of our rightful place in the United Nations in 1971, China's international status and authority quickly rose. When the Latin American nations began their struggle to protect sovereign rights over the 200 nautical miles of territorial waters, China gave them resolute support,

arousing strong reactions in Latin America. The countries gradually came to see the development of relations with China as a matter of importance. Following the establishment of diplomatic relations with Chile, such relations were established between 1971 and 1974 with Peru, Mexico, Argentina, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela, and Brazil. Between 1976 and 1977, Surinam and Barbados followed suit. The 1980's saw the establishment of diplomatic relations with Ecuador and Colombia, and at the beginning of 1983, relations were also established with the newly-independent Antigua and Barbuda. To date, China has established diplomatic ties with a total of 15 Latin American nations, marking a new situation in Sino-Latin American relations. Of these 15 countries, 5 are Spanish-speaking, 1 is Portuguese-speaking, 5 are English-speaking, and the last is Dutch-speaking. They cover a total of 80 percent of Latin American soil, represent 82 percent of the total population of Latin America, and account for 93 percent of its GNP.

II

Over the last 10 years or so, with the gradual increase in the number of countries establishing diplomatic relations with China, the two regions have entered a new period of overall development in their relations, with marked progress made in political, economic, trade, cultural, science and technology, sports, and other contacts.

First, there has been a constant increase in visits by state leaders and top government officials from both sides. Beginning with the visit of Mexican President Esteban Echeverria in 1973, there have been almost yearly state visits by one or two Latin American heads of state or leading government figures, including Argentine, Venezuelan, and Guyanan presidents, premiers from Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Jamaica, and Antigua, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Peru. Premier Zhao Ziyang also visited Mexico in 1981 after attending the Cancun conference on promoting North-South dialogue. This was the first time a Chinese premier had visited the region, and he was given a grand reception and an enthusiastic welcome by the Mexican Government and people; his visit attracted widespread attention among Latin American nations, and brought to a new high the friendly and cooperative relations between China and Latin America. Visits by vice-premiers, foreign ministers, members of parliament, and other top state officials have been even more numerous. This direct contact between high-level government officials has played an important [role] in the countries concerned, and promoting the growth of relations between the two sides, and has had a positive influence on the development of relations with other Latin American countries.

The strengthening of unity and cooperation in the international sphere is an important reflection of the development of friendly Sino-Latin American relations. China shares with many Latin American countries an opposition to imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism and a wish to preserve world peace, and often has similar or identical views to these countries on important international questions; this makes mutual cooperation and support in the international struggle more easy. At the 26th UN

General Assembly in 1971, Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago all voted in favor of the restoration of China's legal seat in the United Nations. Following its support of Latin American countries' struggle to defend their rights over the 200 nautical miles of territorial waters in the early 1970's, China in 1973 signed the second additional protocol of the Latin American nuclear ban treaty, providing great encouragement and support to the Latin American states and people in their fight against nuclear hegemony and nuclear blackmail. In 1981, when Mexican President Lopez Portillo invited state and government heads from 22 northern and southern countries to Cancun to hold an "international conference on cooperation and development," Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang readily attended the conference, where he resolutely supported the demands of developing countries for the establishment of a just and rational new world order. At UN and other international organization meetings, China and the Latin American states have coordinated and cooperated relatively well. For example, at all UN conferences on the Law of the Sea, China, along with Latin American and other Third World countries, carried on a resolute struggle with sea hegemonists for over 9 years, culminating in December 1982 with the signing of the historically unprecedented sea law--the UN Treaty on the Law of the Sea.

Substantive contacts in the fields of economic relations and trade, science and technology, culture, and so on, have also developed a great deal. To date, China has signed a total of 41 intergovernmental agreements with Mexico, Cuba, Jamaica, Barbados, Guyana, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. These have included agreements on government trade and commodity loans, along with cooperation agreements in the spheres of economics, science and technology, culture, tourism, post and telecommunications, news reporting, and broadcasting.

On the principle of equality, mutual benefit, and supplying each others needs, China has actively developed trade contacts with the Latin American region. In 1971, we had trade contacts with only 27 Latin American countries and regions, whereas now our trading contacts have spread to almost all Latin American countries, and trade figures are increasing by the year. In 1971, China's trade with Latin American countries (excluding Cuba) amounted to a total of only \$41 million, but by 1981 it had reached \$1.5 billion, 37-fold increase in the space of 10 years, while China's unfavorable balance of trade is gradually changing. China's main export commodities are oil, rice, and light industrial, textile and agricultural sideline products. The main products exported from Latin American countries to China include copper, wood, sugar, grain, and cotton.

In the field of economic cooperation, during the 1960's China also signed economic cooperation agreements with Chile (during the time of the Allende government), Peru, Jamaica, and Guyana, providing them with economic aid; some of the loans, goods, and materials have already been handed over. Over the past few years, China has also reached economic aid accords with Surinam and Barbados. Under these economic aid projects, China has helped Guyana and Jamaica to build textile and brick factories, has sent technological groups to Barbados to set up experimental vegetable cultivation

centers, provided well-drilling equipment for Peru, and agreed to build a sports center in Surinam. In 1980, China also signed a financial agreement with Argentina. In 1982, Cuba provided us with a commodity loan.

China has so far signed technological cooperation agreements with 10 Latin American nations. In accordance with these agreements, China has sent inspection groups and delegations from the fields of oil, electricity, water conservation, chemicals, papermaking, construction, mining, remote sensing technology, agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fishery, and medicine to Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Peru, Chile, and other countries. This has been of great benefit; we have already absorbed some of their technology and experiences, using them in our practice of research and production. Latin American visits to China on inspection tours have involved mainly Mexico, Peru, and Argentina; inspections have concentrated on the spheres of agriculture, animal husbandry, fishery, acupuncture, and moxibustion, and the manufacture of handicrafts. A small number of technicians from Latin American countries have also participated in training programs run by special organs of the United Nations.

There have also been marked increases in cultural contacts. Since the 1970's, various Chinese literature and art groups and organizations have at one time or another visited all Latin American countries with whom we have diplomatic relations, with the exception of Cuba and Antigua, the Bahamas, and other countries. Artists from Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, and Chile have also visited China over the years. There have also been jointly-run arts and crafts and book exhibitions. Sports contacts have also been many and varied; each year, China sends about 10 sports groups and teams to participate in competitions in Latin America, while the latter has also sent various teams to China. There has also been gradual development in other fields, such as visits by trade unions, women's groups, education groups, and friendship delegations, cooperation in the fields of tourism, broadcasting, and communications, and student exchange programs. From 1973 to 1979, China sent a total of over 100 students to Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, and other countries, mainly to study Spanish. There have been over 30 Latin American students studying in China, most of whom have now finished their studies and returned home. There has been a large increase in the number of Latin American tourists visiting China; while less than 100 came in 1971, this figure increased to 2,300 in 1978 and in the first half of 1979 alone the number exceeded 2,200.

This constant increase in contacts has aroused a strong desire in China and Latin America to understand and find out about the other. Certain academic organs in Latin America have been running a succession of lecture and discussion meetings on China, and certain universities have established Chinese language courses. Meanwhile, in China, in addition to the Sino-Latin American Friendship Association, the Latin American Research Institute and the Latin American Literature Society have been set up. The latter has translated and published a large number of books on the history and geography of Latin American states, along with famous literary works, including a collection of short stories by the famous Nobel Prize-winning Colombian novelist Gabriel Garcia Marquez; the society also is responsible

for the regular publication of the "Latin America Anthology," a periodical specially devoted to Latin American affairs. Ten institutes of higher education in China have set up courses in Spanish and Portuguese, cultivating future workers in the field of friendly contacts with Latin America.

In short, just as Chinese and Latin American leaders have pointed out on many occasions, Sino-Latin American relations have developed fast in the space of 10 short years; the situation is highly gratifying, and fully reflects the demand of the Chinese and Latin American peoples to greatly increase mutual contacts.

III

Naturally, we must also realize that we have not had relations with Latin American countries for long, and they have not developed nearly as far as they should. At present, of the 33 independent Latin American countries, only 15 have established diplomatic relations with us. Many have not yet done so, and the Central American region in particular is a diplomatic vacuum as far as China is concerned. Understanding between the Chinese and Latin American peoples awaits further development, and contact in the fields of politics, economics, and culture need to be greatly strengthened, putting the development of Sino-Latin American relations on a really sound footing.

Taking the long view, Sino-Latin American relations have rich prospects for development. China and the Latin American states are all developing countries; they are all part of the Third World, have all suffered the exploitation and invasion of imperialism and colonialism, have all struggled tirelessly to achieve and maintain national independence, and all face the same or similar tasks today. There are no basic conflicts of interest between the two sides, no problems or disputes which remain unsolved. After over 30 years of unofficial and official contacts, understanding has deepened. This forms a reliable basis for the continuing development of Sino-Latin American friendship. In our pursuit of an independent, voluntary foreign policy, the strengthening and development of unity between developing countries is a starting point. Latin America is an important integral part of the Third World, and we are willing, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, to actively develop friendly cooperative relations with Latin American countries.

In their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism, the countries of Latin America have begun to take China's international status and influence more and more seriously; they have begun to see us as a reliable friend, and to hope for our support and for the strengthening of cooperation with us. Moreover, the role and influence of Latin American countries in international affairs is increasing daily, and for this reason, looking at the overall situation, we should greatly strengthen contacts with the region, establish diplomatic relations with more of its nations, and push Sino-Latin American relations into a new stage.

Politically, we will continue to resolutely support the just struggle of the Latin American countries and people for social reform, and the protection of national sovereignty and independence. China's support, described above, for the struggle of the Panamanian people for the restoration of rights over the Panama Canal, and that of the Dominican people to oppose the American invasion, and that of the Latin American countries to defend their rights over the 200 nautical miles of territorial waters, all created a positive influence among the countries and people of Latin America. China has also promptly declared its stand on the important events which have taken place in Latin America over the last 1 or 2 years. On the Malvinas Islands issue which arose during 1982, China clearly declared that Argentina's demands for sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands should be respected in international society, and hoped that on this basis Argentina and Britain could solve the dispute through peaceful negotiations, and that the relevant decision passed by the 37th UN General Assembly should be carried out. Again, on the issue of the recent U.S. invasion of Grenada, China strongly condemned this aggressive hegemonist action, and demanded the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Grenada. And again, on the question of Central America, which is of so much concern to Latin American countries, we both condemned one superpower for attempting to use military terror and suppression to keep in check the people of that region in their demands for democracy and social reform, and at the same time exposed another superpower's attempt to make use of the national democratic movements in Central America to carry out infiltration. We stressed that the problems of each of the Central American countries should be solved by the people of those countries themselves, that disputes between the countries of that region should be solved peacefully on the basis of mutual respect of sovereign rights and nonintervention in domestic policies, and that no outside force should intervene. The Chinese Government supports the proposal of the Contadora Group and the bulk of countries of Latin America to oppose any attempt by the superpowers to bring Central America into their disputes, and supports them in their work to support the peoples of the various Central American countries' right to self-determination and to relax the tension in the area. The stand adopted by China has won the appreciation of Latin American leaders, and they have individually expressed the hope that China will play an even greater role in the future.

The present state of Sino-Latin American relations is that, in contrast to the flourishing political and cultural contacts, there is a marked lack of economic cooperation. Trade figures are relatively low, accounting for only 3.5 percent of China's total trade in 1982 and only 0.75 percent of Latin America's trade. Economic cooperation has only just begun, and existing cooperative projects are progressing relatively slowly. But their opposition to the economic exploitation of the superpowers and developed countries, their fight for the creation of a new, rational world economic order, and their struggle for the development of the national economies, make Latin American nations greatly concerned with foreign economic contacts, and there is a widespread hope for the development and expansion of economic relations and trade with China. In its pursuit of the four

modernizations, our country is also in need of stronger economic and trade cooperation with the countries of Latin America. This is the most important issue in the development of relations between China and Latin American states both those who have and those who have not yet established diplomatic relations with us. It is for this reason that our leaders have stressed repeatedly in the past that at the same time as developing political and cultural ties with Latin America, we must, on the basis of the spirit of "equality and mutual benefit, striving for results, using a wide variety of forms, and developing together," work hard to find a new path to stronger economic and trade cooperation, such as cooperative production, joint ventures, labor contracts, and so on.

To this end, we must further our mutual understanding with Latin American countries, and each must make adequate appraisals of the economic status and role of the others. At the same time as changing the unequal, irrational state of international economic relations, and working hard together to make developed countries change their policies, developing countries should start with cooperation between themselves; South-South cooperation has an extremely important strategic significance in this respect. Though the economies of developing countries are not too advanced, and the same applies to their technology, they each have their own experience, and are fully able to supplement each other's shortcomings with their own strong points. This is particularly true of Latin American countries, which developed relatively fast during the 1960's. From 1970 to 1974, the annual average GNP of these countries increased by 7.7 percent, with an 11.1 percent increase in Brazil. They have thus accumulated many positive and negative experiences in starting from the real situation, formulating development plans, improving the economic structure, and bringing about the overall development of the national economy and in the introduction, management, and use of foreign funds and advanced technology and equipment; while in the practice of production and science and technology, they have made some original achievements which may be drawn upon by our country. In general, among the developing countries, the economies of the Latin American countries are more advanced than those of the Asian and African countries; looking at contacts over the past few years, they have had a genuinely friendly attitude to the development of economic cooperation with China, so the strengthening of such cooperation with them could play a big role in promoting our country's four modernizations.

In trade, though the majority of Latin America's exports consist of primary products, with certain countries exporting mainly coffee, bananas, lead, tin, and so on, there are still many products with which both sides could supplement each other's needs with. For example, wheat from Argentina, copper from Chile and Peru, cotton from Mexico, iron from Brazil, wood from Ecuador, and sugar from Colombia, are all things which China needs. Again, certain industrial and agricultural products from China, such as machinery and equipment, though they are not the most technologically advanced, would be suitable for certain Latin American countries.

To conclude, there is an urgent need at present to conduct examination and research, promote understanding between the two sides economic and technological level, and to clarify the characteristics of each market. With the constant development of each country's economy, the road to economic cooperation between China and Latin America will become increasingly broad.

Taking a broad look at the past, and looking into the future, we deeply believe that the friendly relations between the countries and people of China and Latin America will further develop and strengthen during the 1980's, and that they will produce even richer results.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POPULATION ECOLOGY CALLED IMPORTANT RESEARCH TOPIC

Beijing RENKOU YU JINGJI [POPULATION AND ECONOMICS] in Chinese No 5, 25 Oct 82
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[Article by Xia Weisheng [1115 0251 3932]: "Population Ecology Is an Important Topic For Research"]

[Text] Speaking of humanity's material life and the economic construction that it undertakes, population, natural resources and the environment from a single entity. Probing into the patterns of their interdependence and interaction, and coordinating well the relationships among them in order to achieve all kinds of growth under conditions that are in keeping with ecology are fundamental tasks and principal areas of study of population ecology. Land is both the most important natural resource and a component part of the environment. Thus, studying the problems of the interaction between population and land has become one of the important topics of population ecology.

Land is the cradle and swaddling clothes of mankind's existence and development. "Where there is soil, there are people." "All things are born of the earth." Land is relied on to supply nearly all of the food, clothing, shelter and other major daily necessities that mankind needs. According to statistics, agricultural products that are grown on cultivated land are relied on to provide 88 percent of the food capacity that mankind requires, grassland and grazing land are relied on to supply the remaining 10 percent, and only 2 percent comes from the world's oceans, which occupy 71 percent of the earth's area. Although today major advances have been made in science and technology [S&T] and extremely fascinating vistas have unfolded for mankind's food supply, nevertheless, there is no scientist who dares to assert categorically that there will be a material that will replace soil and become the source of mankind's food supply. Although mankind has achieved astounding successes in exploring the cosmos, nevertheless, to this day the host of facts have repeatedly made clear that no other celestial bodies, at least not one body of the solar system, can sustain life. The earth has always been the mother that has raised mankind. Mankind should have deep love for the land and should protect it, which will then enable the land to benefit mankind forever. However, what is regrettable is that rapid population growth places an increasingly large strain on the land. Mankind's irrational activities have caused land resources to sustain unceasingly heavy damage. The contradiction between population and land has already become a major social environment

problem that now confronts the international sector, and it has caused people to be extremely anxious and uneasy. This article will use the factual situation of Gansu as an example, and will emphasize the discussion of the strain that population growth places on the land as well as prospective problems.

Characteristics of the Contradiction Between Population and Land

The decline in the land guarantee rate* and the depletion of land resources that are caused by population growth are a major challenge that our nation has encountered in the four modernizations construction. (The land guarantee rate system refers to the area of land utilized per capita for agriculture. It has decreased in the wake of population growth and the increase in the quantity of agricultural land used for nonagricultural purposes.) At the Fifth Session of the Fourth NPC Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out that "our nation's population is huge, and there is a lack of cultivated land. This contradiction has become more and more acute in the wake of the growth in population. Each parcel of land should be cherished, and each parcel should be utilized rationally. This should be our national policy."

Gansu has always been recognized as one of the vast and thinly populated provincial areas. Does the contradiction between population and land exist there? What are the characteristics of this contradiction? There are different views concerning this question. A few comrades only see that Gansu has an area of 454,000 sq km and a population of 19 million, with an average density of 41 people per sq km. Although this is higher than N Xinjiang (8 people per sq km), Qinghai (5 people), or Xizang (2 people), nevertheless, it is lower than the national average density of 101 people per sq km, and it is much lower than the population density of some littoral provincial areas. For example, the density in Jiangsu is 580 people per sq km, 486 people on Taiwan, and 482 people in Shandong, all of which are much higher than that of Gansu. Thus, they believe that in a provincial area such as Gansu the problem of land shortage should not exist.

This viewpoint is not comprehensive. While it is true that population density is an important indicator in our analysis and determination as to whether the contradiction between population and land exists in a region, it is certainly not the only indicator. We must simultaneously take other factors into consideration. For instance, we must analyze the features of the land's topological structure. Although Gansu's land area is vast, deserts, the Gobi, high mountains and snow peaks occupy a large area, and cultivated land accounts for only 8 percent of the total land area. Thus, there are "Two portions are deserts, Three portions are grass lands, Four portions are mountains and the rest is plateaus and plains." Speaking of reserve land resources, although in Hexi there are over 10 million mu of undeveloped land resources, nevertheless, due to its being situated in a dry wilderness zone, the climate is arid, vegetation is sparse, and there is a severe threat of windblown sand. If opening up of the wasteland is to be carried out, a windbreak forest belt system must first be set up, and perfected irrigation and dealkalinized water systems must also be constructed. Otherwise,

once the wasteland has been opened up, recurring driftsand, secondary salinization and other series of consequences that are dreadful to contemplate will inevitably occur. In this respect, the lesson is there to be learned both at home and abroad, and it warrants our being on guard against it. As for the eastern region of Gansu, its reclaiming and cultivation of wasteland index is high due to its long history of reclaiming, where wasteland that could be reopened has basically already been reopened. There is still about 7 percent of the existing cultivated land that is scattered among mountain regions that have steep gradients and where soil erosion is severe, and it belongs to the "three run-off fields," where fertilizer, soil and water run off. It is unsuitable for further cultivation, and it should be discontinued.

In Gansu, the contradiction between population and land is prominently manifested in the land's low level of productive forces and low population-bearing capacity. As is known to all, land is a comprehensive notion that includes specific surface regions of the earth as well as the surrounding atmosphere, soil, geological foundation, hydrological conditions and biocommunity. At the same time, it also includes the various results of mankind's past and present activities within this region as well as their future effects. The level of productive forces of land within a region is under the combined influence and control of these factors. Regions where those factors have been mutually coordinated are commonly said to be regions that possess favorable natural conditions. The land's level of productive forces should be high, but on the contrary they are low. Although in Gansu Province the per capita land ownership and per capita cultivated land ownership indices are higher than the national mean, they are much higher than each province in the southern part of the country. However, due to the rather poor natural conditions, there is a severe threat of drought, soil erosion, conversion into a desert area and salinization. Disasters occur frequently. Thus, the biotic yield of the land is very low. Throughout the province the average grain yield is no more than over 200 jin per mu, and the grain production is only 540 jin per capita, so it cannot be self-sufficient in grain. Although the per capita cultivated land ownership index is low in some provincial regions in the eastern part of our nation, the land's biotic yield is very high due to the superior natural conditions, and the per capita grain income is also high. For example, in Jiangsu Province the cultivated land ownership index is only 1.22 mu per capita, which is lower than that of Gansu, but due to the warm climate, large amount of rainfall, and two or three crop in a year, grain production reaches 850 jin per capita, so it has grain enough and to spare. In Zhejiang Province the cultivated land ownership index is only 0.7 mu per capita, but due to the high per mu yield it has so-called "tons of grain fields." Grain production reaches 850 jin per mu, so it can be self-sufficient in grain. Obviously, whether the proportion of population and land is suitable, namely, whether there is a contradiction, the land's population-bearing capacity must be investigated. Not only is this bearing capacity dissimilar in different regions under identical sociohistorical conditions, moreover, the disparity is huge.

In view of the various aforementioned causes, Prof Sun Jingzhi [1327 2417 0037], our nation's well-known population geographer, has pointed out in his analysis

of the disequilibrium in the regional distribution of our nation's population that it cannot simply be stated that our nation's eastern population is huge or that the western population is small. He also believes that migration measures cannot be relied on to resolve this problem of disequilibrium, but he does believe that efforts should be devoted to expanding production. Expanding production will enable people to become well off, which naturally will appeal to the populace.* The author agrees with this correct viewpoint and stand.

Population Growth and the Decline in the Land Guarantee Rate

The productive potential of land resources is difficult to estimate, but it will surely bring along even more abundant and varied wealth for humanity in the wake of the advances made in S&T. Nevertheless, land resources are limited in space, and there is no way for any remarkable S&I to alter this reality. Thus, the quantity of per capita-owned land must inevitably decrease in the wake of population growth. Under the circumstances of insufficient reserves of land resources and temporary difficulty in opening up wasteland, the quantity of cultivated land will also inevitably decrease in the wake of population growth.

Since liberation, Gansu's population has grown rapidly, and this has caused the rapid decline in the per capita-owned cultivated land area (Table 1). In 1949, there were 9,684,300 people throughout the province, a 50.46 million mu area of cultivated land, with a cultivated land ownership index of 5.6 mu per capita. In 1980, the population had grown to 19.184 million, double that of 1949, but the cultivated land area only increased by 3 million mu, which was only a 6 percent increase. This rate was much lower than the population growth rate, which resulted in the cultivated (land ownership index) dropping to 2.8 mu per capita, which is a 50 percent decrease over that of 1949. Naturally, with the reduction in the cultivated land area the land guarantee ratio gradually declined. This was not entirely caused by the growth in population, but had much to do with the rapid expansion of socialist construction throughout the province, the many demands that each area placed on the land, and the occupied land area. The result brought about by this situation was that although wasteland was opened up year after year, the net growth in cultivated land was very small.

* For details, see "Selected Scientific Theories On China's Population," Chinese Science Publishing House, 1981.

Table 1 Per Capita Ownership of Cultivated Land in Gansu Province
1949 - 1978

Year	Per Capita Ownership (mu)	Year	Per Capita Ownership (mu)	Year	Per Capita Ownership (mu)
1949	5.6	1959	4.3	1969	3.5
1950	5.1	1960	4.5	1970	3.4
1951	5.1	1961	4.5	1971	3.2
1952	5.1	1962	4.3	1972	3.1
1953	5.0	1963	4.3	1973	3.0
1954	4.9	1964	4.1	1974	3.0
1955	4.8	1965	4.0	1975	2.9
1956	4.6	1966	3.9	1976	2.9
1957	4.5	1967	3.7	1977	2.9
1958	4.4	1968	3.6	1978	2.8

Source of Data: Data compiled by the department concerned of the Gansu Province Statistical Bureau

The rate of decline of the per capita cultivated land ownership index in Gansu Province is larger in comparison to that of the entire nation. During the initial period after the founding of the PRC, there were altogether 1,468,220,000 mu of cultivated land throughout the nation, with ownership of that land at 2.7 mu per capita. From 1957 to 1980, the accumulative total of opened wasteland throughout the nation was 320 million mu but approximately 500 million mu of cultivated land was lost as a result of the state's capital construction and rural housing construction. Not only did the cultivated land area decrease, there was a net decrease of 180 million mu. Along with this, at the same time the population grew sharply from 541.67 million in the early years after the founding of the PRC to 982.55 million in 1980, with a net population growth of 430 million. The cultivated land ownership index) dropped to 1.6 mu per capita, a decline of 41 percent, but in Gansu it was 50 percent, which is obviously higher. What needs to be pointed out here is that the decline in the land guarantee rate caused by population growth was most certainly not a new problem that emerged only after liberation, and it certainly was not a phenomenon found only in Gansu Province and our nation. Viewing the history of our nation, since the Qing dynasty the land area owned per capita decreased sharply as a result of the sudden swelling of the population. According to research done by Zhou Yuanhe [0719 3293 0735], in the 18th year of the Kang Xi

emperor (1661), the national population was 105,343,045, and each individual actually owned 5.23 mu of land. Over 200 years later in the 27th year of the Guang Xu emperor (1887), the population grew to 426,447,325 people, and the actual ownership of land dropped to 1.98 mu, an astounding rate.* Speaking on the global scale, population growth places a huge strain on the land. In 1950, the average population density of the earth's dry land was 18 people per sq km. Twenty years later in 1970 it rose to 27 people, a 50 percent increase. In 1978, it rose to 30 people, and it is estimated that in the year 2,000 population density will reach 48 people per sq km. This will result in the earth's population "load capacity" increasing nearly 2 percent per annum. Even if the calculations are based on the land used for agriculture, its "load capacity" will increase 6 to 7 percent. So, the quantity of the world's cultivated land owned per capita is clearly decreasing.

The Effects of Population Growth on Land Deterioration Population growth brings along an increased demand for food supplies. To this end, there are three types of measures to resolve the problem: 1) expand the cultivated land area; 2) implement overcropping on existing cultivated land; 3) use mass quantities of chemical fertilizers and insecticides, or adopt other agricultural technology measures, in order to increase the yield per unit area. Practice has proven that these measures can obtain temporary benefits, but viewing the long-term effects, some of these measures can frequently cause depletion of the land resources and an unending decrease in the biotic yield to the point that the land will completely lose its productive capability.

The phenomenon of depleted land resources is rather prominent in Gansu, and it is mainly manifested in the following areas:

1. Severe Soil Erosion

The middle part and eastern region of Gansu Province are parts of the northwest loess plateau. Because of the porous soil, sparse vegetation and uneven terrain, in addition to much of the rainfall being concentrated in the summer and fall seasons, torrential rains fall and severe erosion occurs. Thus, they have become the regions of severest soil erosion in the nation. According to studies, the soil erosion area of the provincewide loess plateau accounts for approximately 24 percent of the soil erosion area of the northwest loess plateau. For many years the silt content of the Yellow River averaged over 500 million tons, which accounts for approximately 32 percent of the silt content of the river's middle reaches. There is an average annual erosion of a layer of fertile soil approximately 5 to 6 mm thick, and on some sloped cultivated land 3 to 5 tons of fertile soil per mu are eroded, the severest erosion reaching 8 to 9 tons. Forty to 50 cu m sometimes even over 100 cu m, of water are lost. No land could withstand such a large-scale erosion of water, fertilizer and soil!

*Zhou Yuanhe, "Study of the Population in the Qing Dynasty," and "China's Social Sciences," 1982, 2nd ed.

It is true that there are many reasons for the occurrence and gradual intensification of the soil erosion phenomenon on Gansu Province's loess plateau, but population growth is indeed one of the basic reasons. According to the research of Prof Shi Nianhai [0670 1819 3189], a well-known historical geographer, in the Western Zhou period the loess plateau forest cover rate was 57 percent, and the remainder was a boundless stretch of grassland. The climate was moist, herbage was in abundance, and the ecological system was situated in a desirable cycle. Although later on wars, reclaiming of croplands, and other factors caused severe damage to the forests and grasslands, nevertheless, until prior to the Qing dynasty they had not suffered devastating damage. In the period of the Ming dynasty, Gaolan Mountain in Lanzhou was still "a green mountain peak...on which wave upon wave of trees could be seen on a clear day." In the early Qing dynasty, there was a region in Yongdeng County that was described as having "towering old trees and clear streams everywhere, so vast and quiet as if it were a peach orchard in a graveyard." However, the population grew very rapidly after the Qing dynasty. In order to resolve the problem of feeding the population, the cultivated land area was expanded uncontrollably and agricultural production was expanded from plains and plateaus to mountain slopes. This caused trees to be felled, grasslands were excessively reclaimed, the percentage of vegetation cover gradually declined, and soil erosion gradually intensified, which led to the sight of bare mountains and crisscrossing ravines. By the end of the Qing dynasty, Gansu had already become a "thousand li plain that was a barren land." After liberation, although the state repeatedly made investments and the masses put in so much hard work in order to change this impoverished, backward state of affairs, it produced little effect. Research has shown that the reason still lay in the continued growth in population and the inability to increase the land's per unit area yield. Help could only be sought by opening up new land and practicing overplanting on old land, but it was done without care, and the situation deteriorated into the vicious circle of "the more the land was cultivated, the more exhausted it became, and the more exhausted it became, the more cultivation was needed." The land continued to deteriorate.

2. The Desert Area Was Expanded

An area's conversion to a desert is a severe manifestation of depleted land resources. Expansion of a desert area is basically the result of denudation and overgrazing. According to research done by the Lanzhou Institute of Deserts, Academia Sinica, in the northern region of our nation a desert area with an area of approximately 50,000 sq km has been newly forming for one-half century, 85 percent of which has been caused by excessive cultivation, overgrazing and gathering firewood. The vast majority of the uncultivated land resources in Gansu province are scattered among arid and semiarid regions. The ecological balance of this type of region is extremely fragile. Any irrational production activities will easily cause an upheaval in the ecological balance, and it will then lose the capacity for regulation. This will bring about the collapse of the ecological balance, which will cause the desert area to expand and the process to intensify.

Once this type of situation occurs, it is generally very difficult to restore it to its former state. According to findings, since 1958 the original

ecological balance of some regions in Gansu Province have been severely damaged as a result of reclaiming crop fields in fixed or partly fixed desert areas, which has caused recurring sand-drifting. The total area has reached over 20,000 sq km. So, in the future great care must be taken in reclaiming and cultivating wasteland in areas such as these.

3. Soil Contamination

Soil contamination is generally caused by poisonous waste material from industrial production getting into the soil, as well as by the use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides. These two situations are present in Gansu Province. What is regrettable is that at present there is still no possession of detailed, reliable data. A host of facts have proven that using chemical fertilizers and insecticides is sufficient to achieve the goal of increased production. According to studies, each ton of chemical fertilizer generally increases grain production 2 to 3 tons. The grain loss retrieved by insecticides in general accounts for around 15 percent of the total grain yield. In Gansu Province the utilization level of chemical fertilizers and insecticides is low, but in order to increase agricultural output Gansu will still have to produce and use mass quantities of them in the future. There is no doubt about this. However, their side effects must be taken into consideration. If massive quantities are used uncontrollably over a long period of time, it can, on the one hand, cause land failure, such as hardening of the soil, low quality physicochemical properties, a reduction in organic matter, fertility failure, and so on. On the other hand, it can also cause huge amounts of harmful chemical substances to accumulate in the soil and crops, or seep into groundwater and rivers, which will endanger the safety of humans and livestock. What is particularly serious is that disturbing and damaging the agricultural ecological balance will cause a sudden drop in the number of bacteria, insects and birds that are beneficial to agriculture, and the bacteria, insects, and birds that are harmful to crops will more often than not spread and run rampant since they have lost their natural enemies. In her book "Silent Spring," the well-known American biologist R. Carson cites numerous materials in vividly describing the tragic consequences for the natural world caused by the excessive use of insecticides. Her book has caused the international sector to study the aftereffects of toxic insecticides and measures to guard against contamination from insecticides. At present, there are some agriculturally developed nations which are becoming more and more skeptical about relying on chemical fertilizers and insecticides to improve the so-called "farming for oil" in agricultural output. They believe that it is a dead end, and they advocate taking the road of "ecological agriculture." Their stand is most inspiring to us.

9926
CSO: 4005/123

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

YANG YONG'S MINORITY NATIONALITIES WORK RECALLED

HK070538 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Feb 84 p 5

[Article by Janabil [6328 6719 1580 1422]: "Recollections on Comrade Yang Yong in Xinjiang"]

[Text] It has been more than 1 year since Comrade Yang Yong left us, but when I recall the time when he worked hard in Xinjiang, his lofty virtues, and the care, instruction, and help that he gave me, I could not help but feel sincere respect for him and deeply cherish his memory.

He came to Xinjiang in 1973, when the "Great Cultural Revolution" had already been going on for 7 years. At that time, like in all other areas in the country, all undertakings in Xinjiang had been seriously undermined and social life was in perfect chaos. In these disastrous days of the entire Chinese nation, there was disunity among the people and there were mountains of problems and many die-hard bad old practices in all fields. Under these circumstances, Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou showed great concern for the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang and sent Comrade Yang Yong to work in Xinjiang as the second secretary of the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous regional CPC committee and commander of the Xinjiang military region. After he came to Xinjiang, Comrade Yang Yong disregarded the pressure brought on him by the "gang of four," applied the Marxist stand, viewpoints, and methods in analyzing the situation, adhered to the truth, and led the cadres and masses of people of all nationalities in criticizing factionalism, liberating cadres, carrying out consolidation, and strengthening the development of our troops. In this manner, he made tremendously great efforts to overcome the disorder in our situation, promote stability and unity and develop our national economy and thus brought about a marked change for the better in the situation in Xinjiang.

Cadres are a valuable wealth of the party and state. Under the situation at that time, whereby a large number of our cadres had their jobs suspended, Comrade Yang Yong thought that only by liberating, uniting with, employing, and relying on our cadres could we bring about a situation of stability and unity. Therefore, he took loving care of the cadres of various nationalities who had suffered persecution, and did all he could to help them. This warmed the hearts of and liberated some comrades who suffered from persecution and attack in the "cultural revolution." In May 1974,

when the responsible comrade of the CPC committee of the Bortala Monggol Autonomous Prefecture briefed Yang Yong on his work and said this was because the cadres were criticized and there was nobody to grasp production, Yang Yong said with perfect assurance: "How can we allow this to happen! What will people eat and wear if nobody is grasping production! If your prefecture can produce 300 million jin of grain this year, I will go to your prefecture to congratulate you!" That autumn, the prefecture got in more than 300 million jin of grain and also increased its livestock output. As Yang Yong had much work to attend to, he sent me to the prefecture to congratulate and greet the cadres throughout the prefecture on behalf of the regional CPC committee. In February 1976, in order to usurp party leadership and state power, the RENMIN RIBAO which was then under the control of the "gang of four," wantonly whipped up counterrevolutionary opinions. It published one article after another to "criticize Deng Xiaoping and counterattack the trend of rightist case reversals." At that time, I was assigned to be in charge of the work related to propaganda. When the "gang of four" began to launch that evil drive, in order to grasp the orientation of our propaganda, I asked him for instructions. He said: "The only thing I can say is that we should act in accordance with the directives of the CPC Central Committee." A few days later, at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the regional CPC committee, some comrades persistently held that the local paper had to follow RENMIN RIBAO in making propaganda. He sternly pointed out: "Press propaganda should be carried out in accordance with the documents of the CPC Central Committee!" After the meeting, he gave me an earnest hint, saying: "Comrade Hanabil, the situation is very complicated now. We should exert our brain and think things over whenever there is a problem and ask more questions about the reasons for doing something. We should never follow other people blindly! We are now wading across a river by feeling the stones under our feet. We should clearly know our direction and should not blindly follow others like some people have been doing!" When I heard these words from the bottom of his heart, all my doubts vanished. How he deserved to be praised for being able to make these valuable comments at a time when high-handed policies of the "leftist" line were carried out!

During the turbulent time of the so-called drive to "criticize Deng Xiaoping and counterattack the rightist case reversals," some people in Xinjiang wanted to publish a "Collection of Big Character Posters of Qinghua University," a book edited by the lackeys of the "gang of four." When Comrade Yang Yong learned of this, he was angry and resolutely said: "I will not permit the publication of this book!" Later, Qinghua University sent some people to Xinjiang to "pass on their valuable experiences." He was very angry when he learned of this and firmly and resolutely pointed out: "We should not allow these people to spread what they uphold!" Some of these people lodged a complaint against him when they returned to Beijing, but he was not afraid of this and dismissed it with a smile.

When Comrade Wang Enmao was in charge of the work in Xinjiang, he proceeded from the reality in Xinjiang and put forth the principle of "satisfactorily developing five things," namely, "satisfactorily developing farm land, irrigation ditches, forest belts, roads, and residential areas." Under

the guidance of this principle, great achievements were made in "satisfactorily developing five things" in the rural areas to the east and west of the Tian Shan. For this the region was praised by Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice Premiers Chen Yi and He Long. During the 10 years of turmoil, the principle of "satisfactorily developing five things" was wantonly criticized. Its implementation was interrupted and serious damage was done to the development already achieved. In the summer of 1976, Comrade Yang Yong made a weary journey to Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture to make investigations and studies. When he saw that a large number of trees had been felled there and the ecological balance was seriously undermined, he said with great pity: "What a scene of felling all trees in order to carry out the policy of regarding grain production as the key link!" He asked the cadres there: "Who is guilty in planting trees? Are there revisionists among trees?! How can you tolerate such a practice of excessive lumbering?!" When he was walking around the area, he talked with the cadres and tried to make them understand that the principle of "satisfactorily developing five things" put forth by Comrade Wang Enmao was correct. He also gave many valuable opinions on developing afforestation and "satisfactorily developing five things" in the region.

During the terrible years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," because of the ultra-leftist line carried out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the party's work related to nationalities was seriously undermined. At that time, some people in Xinjiang said: "The name of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is too long and can be shortened to Xinjiang autonomous region," "autonomous prefectures and counties are all large or small independent kingdoms," and "what is the need for being particular about nationalities since it is socialism now!" They vainly attempted to completely negate the needs of the party's nationality work. In order to counter these people's erroneous views, in a speech that he gave at a meeting of the Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefectural People's Congress, he expounded in concise and clear words on the party's policies related to nationality regional autonomy. His speech brought enthusiastic applause from the audience. He spared no effort and did a lot of work in order to carry out the policy related to nationality regional autonomy.

A saying of our Kazak nationality goes: "Without unity, there are lots of disasters ahead in your way. The value of unity is deeply understood only when you are faced with the enemy." During the time when Comrade Yang Yong was working in Xinjiang, he always regarded unity between nationalities as being as precious as his eyes and took great care to safeguard it. Unity is vital to the whole situation and is a guarantee for victory. He also said that the key to satisfactorily develop unity in Xinjiang, including inner-party unity, unity among cadres, unity between the army and people, and unity between the army and government, is the unity between nationalities. He called on people to regard paying attention to unity between nationalities as a criterion for the quality of our cadres. He also proposed that we had to carry out a reeducation in and restudy of our policies related to nationalities and called on our cadres and people to make joint efforts to overcome bourgeois viewpoints on nationalities, foster Marxist viewpoints on nationalities, resolutely

fight against the practice of undermining nationality unity, and push the unity between nationalities onto a new phase. He was very busy but he made use of various opportunities to contact people of various social strata and often personally visited them on holidays.

Comrade Yang Yong attached great importance to and showed much concern for national cultural education and publication work in Xinjiang. Due to the sabotage of the "Cultural Revolution," the publication and supply of books became a very conspicuous problem and there was a serious shortage of books, particularly textbooks in minority nationality languages for colleges, secondary schools, and primary schools. Today, I still can recall his significant and humorous speech delivered on 2 June 1975 at the regional conference on translation and publication plans for books in minority nationality languages. He said: "In Xinjiang, the population ratio between minority nationalities and the Han nationality is 60 to 40 percent. However, the proportion of the publication and circulation volume of books in minority nationality languages amounts to only 16 percent. Therefore, it is necessary to take the translation and publication of books in minority nationality languages as a key link in the publication and circulation work in Xinjiang, so as to gradually make the proportion of the publication and circulation volume of books in minority nationality languages match the proportion of the population of minority nationalities." He also said: "Shortages of books in the Han language can be eased by importing books from other provinces and regions. But where can we import books in minority nationality languages?" After the conference, two publishing houses were set up in Ili and Kashij respectively. Comrade Yang Yong also instructed the departments concerned to provide them with aid and support in manpower and material and financial resources. After the founding of these two publishing houses, a lot of books and journals have been translated into minority nationality languages and published. The publication of these books has played an important role in the education of cadres and masses of minority nationalities.

In April 1974, the organization decided to transfer me from the grassroots level to take up a post in the regional CPC committee. In view of my lack of experience, I then feared my incompetence in taking the post. Comrade Yang Yong enthusiastically encouraged me: "Do not worry and go all out to undertake your new post. You are familiar with the circumstances and have studied at the Central Party School for several years. You should apply what you have learned to the actual work. You will be able to do a good job. Just try your best and I will give you a hand." While making strict demands on my work, he gave me meticulous guidance, taught me patiently, and helped me sincerely. He repeatedly emphasized the importance of study and elaborated to me the dialectic relationship between study and work. He said: "One who fails to study well will never work well, and one who fails to do a good job will not be able to improve one's study. We should study not only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, but also scientific and cultural knowledge." He repeated his view on another occasion, when we met in Beijing,

As I knew, all those who had been working with Comrade Yang Yong in Xinjiang benefitted from and were inspired by his teaching. People always wished to listen to his interesting and voluble words. Regarding him as their teacher and good friend, all of them were always willing to reveal to him their puzzles, their joys, and their sorrows. He always gave people satisfactory answers when they consulted him. He showed great respect for the opinions of cadres of minority nationalities and consulted others with an open mind in order to seek solutions to problems. When people had doubts about certain issues, he always tried to convince them skillfully and patiently. This showed the maturity and style of a competent high-ranking cadre. "One's dignity is embodied in one's behavior, and one's language reflects one's status." It was by no means a coincidence for Comrade Yang Yong to enjoy high prestige among the cadres and the masses of all nationalities in Xinjiang.

CSO: 4005/444

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO ON UNDERSTANDING OF 'SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM'

HK060910 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by Pan Yongjie [3382 3057 2638]: "Gaining a Correct Understanding of the Nucleus of Scientific Socialism"]

[Text] The question concerning the kernel of scientific socialism has been referred to in the discussion on Marxism and humanism in recent years. Some comrades say: "Man is the starting point of Marxism." Some others summarize the kernel of scientific socialism--one of the three component parts of Marxism--in a simple statement: "Everything for man." All these viewpoints are inconsistent with the basic viewpoints of Marxism. This article is designated to provide a brief study and discussion on how to correctly understand the question concerning the kernel of scientific socialism.

The Concept of Beginning Everything From Man in an Abstract Sense Is an Expression of the World Outlook and Historical Conception of Utopian Socialism

Some comrades say: "The concept of everything for man is the yardstick of all social behavior and the criterion to justify all ideological theories." Therefore, it is the kernel of scientific socialism. Whether one identifies oneself with the ideological system of "everything for man" or the proletarian ideological system, and whether one interprets the general law of the development of human society based on the concept of man in an abstract sense and the humanist points of view or on specific social relations, the alternative answers to these questions mark the fundamental distinction between the materialism concept of history and the idealist concept of history and between utopian socialism and scientific socialism.

The concept of "everything for man" is nothing new. The theory of utopian socialism advocated by Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen in the early 19th century, while criticizing the capitalist system, presented a magnificent and rational social system for the future and a reform plan which reflected an immature desire of the proletariat at its early stage. However, their socialism, which interpreted history, designed its reform plan, and formulated a rational society in accordance

with the concept of abstract human nature and the essence of man, was built on the basis of the idealist conception of history, thus failed to go beyond bourgeois humanism. Therefore, they could not understand the nature of the capitalist society and the objective law of its development. Instead, they regarded reason in an abstract sense, or more precisely, human nature, as the basis and the motive force of social development and the sole yardstick to evaluate and justify everything. In their eyes, the capitalist system, which goes against human nature, should be foresaken and be replaced by a new and ideal social system which conforms to human nature. Since they began with the theory of human nature and discussed human nature and the essence of man regardless of specific historical conditions and specific social relations, they inevitably regarded human nature and the essence of man as the decisive power of the historical development of human society, defining socialism as the expression of absolute truth, reason, and justice which stand aloof from all classes, overlooking the real basis of the social history, and being divorced from the actually existing struggle of the proletariat and other laboring people. Therefore, they failed to recognize class struggle as the direct motive force to the development of the class society and to find the correct approach to the transformation of capitalism and the realization of socialism and communism. Thus, they always indulged in the fantasy that they could reach their goal by leaping over the confrontation between classes, by depending on the preaching of the improvement of human nature, and by such peaceful means as propaganda, education, enlightenment by examples, reform, and so on. Thus, they failed to understand the proletariat's glorious historical mission and saw no social force to abolish the old system and build the new system. Instead, they always appeal for support to the whole society indiscriminately, mainly to the rich and those in power. Just as Engels said: "These three men had one thing in common--none of them emerged as the representative of the interests of the proletariat which had then taken shape historically. Like the enlightenment scholars, they thought of immediately emancipating all of mankind instead of emancipating a certain class first." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 406) Thus, it can be seen that the concept of "everything for man" is the kernel of the utopian socialism and the basic hallmark for verifying and evaluating the ideological system of utopian socialism idealist concept of history.

Scientific socialism is based on the materialist concept of history. Starting from the basic principle of social consciousness being determined by social existence, the materialist concept of history points out that the ultimate cause of all social changes is not human nature and the motives of people, but that the cause is embodied rather in the change in mode of production. Based on this principle, scientific socialists regard socialism as the natural result of historical development and the product of modern capitalist economic conditions, thus bringing to light the objective law of the historical development of human society, according to which capitalism is doomed and socialism is bound to win; showing the fundamental road of burying capitalism and building socialism through class struggle; and pointing out the fact that the proletariat is the social force that is to undertake the mission of overthrowing capitalism and building up socialism. Just as

Engels said: "It is the mission of the proletariat in the modern times to fulfill this cause of emancipation of the world. And it is the task of scientific socialism--the theoretical expression of the proletariat movement--to study the historical conditions for and the nature of this cause so as to enable the oppressed classes of our times, which are undertaking the mission to fulfill this cause, to be aware of the conditions for and the nature of their own effort." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 323) Therefore, scientific socialism is the ideological system of the proletariat, the theory defining the nature, conditions, and general purposes of the proletarian liberation movement, and "the theory on the emancipation that can only be achieved by the proletariat rather than slaves, serfs, and handicraftsmen." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 378) This proletarian class characteristic of scientific socialism is the basic hallmark of the scientific nature of scientific socialism which distinguishes it from utopian socialism and other socialist schools, which claim that they are the representatives of the "interests of all of mankind." It indicates that the concept of "everything for man" is by no means the kernel of scientific socialism, nor is it a concept belonging to the proletarian world outlook and historical conception, nor the yardstick and criterion to verify and evaluate scientific socialism. For sure, the only yardstick and criterion to justify and evaluate the truth of scientific socialism is the great practice of socialist revolution and construction in which the proletariat is engaging.

Social Relations Are the Very Starting Point of Scientific Socialism

To support their viewpoint that "everything for man is the prime creed of socialism" and that "the study of man should be made the kernel of scientific socialism," some comrades always quote as their theoretical basis some statements made by Marx in 1844 in "Introduction to 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of law.'" These statements say: "Man is the world of man"; "man is the supreme nature of man"; "the essence of man is man himself"; and so on.

Marx did make these statements in "introduction." This shows that he was then using Feuerbach's humanist [renben zhuyi 0086 2609 0031 5030] statement--"Man himself is the supreme nature of man." Theology holds that God is the supreme nature of man." In one of his books, "The Nature of Christianity," Feuerbach pointed out: "The secret of theology is the study of human character [renben xue 0086 2609 1331]." ("Selected Philosophical Writings of Feuerbach," last vol, p 5) "The absolute nature of man--the God--is in fact the nature of man himself." (Ibid, p 30) He meant that, in other words, the supreme nature of man is man himself rather than God. In "Introduction," Marx first paraphrased Feuerbach's viewpoints, pointing out that the historical achievement of Feuerbach was that he "had finally summarized the criticism against religion in the theory of man being the supreme nature of man." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 9) After that, Marx further elaborated his viewpoint: Since man is the supreme nature of man, in order to enable man to be a real man, "it is necessary to overthrow all the relations that turn man into something humiliated, enslaved, forsaken, and to be held in

contempt." (Ibid, p 9) "The only and actually possible emancipation for Germany is one which starts from the adoption of the theory that man is the supreme nature of man." (Ibid, p 15) Marx drew a revolutionary conclusion from Feuerbach's statement and added some new ideas. Here, we can see that Feuerbach was talking about the relationship between man and God in stating that "man himself is the supreme nature of man;" while Marx was talking about man and the social relations which turn man into something humiliated and enslaved in making the same statement. Thus, how can the statements that Marx made in "Introduction" be cited in support of the viewpoint that "everything for man" is the kernel of scientific socialism?

It is true that Marx then tended to make the statement that "man himself is the supreme nature of man" the theoretical basis of the proletariat's liberation cause. It is nothing strange that the trace of Feuerbach's humanism [renben zhuyi 0086 2609 0031 5030] can be found in Marx's "Introduction" since the article, published in 1844, was one of Marx's writings in his early days. The thought of Marx at that period, as Lenin put it in 1915, "was turning from Hegel to Feuerbach." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, pp 386-387) And, soon after that, Marx began to criticize and forsake that viewpoint. The critique of Feuerbach's humanist [renben zhuyi 0086 2609 0031 5030] thinking was the starting point of the article "On Feuerbach's Program" written by Marx in the spring of 1845. This change in Marx attitude served as a clear demarcation line in the history of development of Marxist thought: Prior to that was the early stage of the thought of Marx and Engels, which was marked with several articles published in RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG and DEUTSCH-FRANZOSISCHE JAHRBUCHER during the period from 1842 to 1844; since then, until the publication of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in 1848 was the stage when Marxism took shape and matured. The influence of humanism was thoroughly eliminated and the statement that "man himself is the supreme nature of man" can no longer be found in the works of Marx and Engels after 1845. In Marx' eyes, human society is an organized one. Man as an individual can only exist in society and in the social relations between himself and other individuals. Otherwise, a man will find no way to engage in productive labor and to survive as a man. Therefore, only by putting man in the specific social and productive relations can we make the scientific abstraction of the essence of man. Marx clearly pointed out: "The essence of man is not the intrinsic abstraction of any individual man. In a realistic sense, it is the sum of all social relations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18) Thus, Marx has changed the base of his argument. Instead of starting from the statement that "man himself is the supreme nature of man," he started from the social relations and relations of production in his discussion on the proletarian emancipation cause. Thus, for the first time in human history, he revealed the objective law of social development, founded the materialist concept of history, provided the key to the correct analysis of the essence of man, and turned the utopian theory of socialism into a scientific one. [Word indistinct] a Comrade Hu Qiaomu pointed out in his article "On Humanism and Alienation": "The change in the starting point and the discovery of a new starting point mark the beginning of a basic change and a great discovery which open a new epoch in the intellectual history of mankind. Only when a new starting point is available can the

materialist conception of history, the 'political economics of the working class,' and the scientific socialist theory take shape, in other words, can there be Marxism." This shows that the thought of Marx did undergo a course of development from immature to mature, namely, from idealism through Feuerbach's quasi-materialism to thorough materialism, and from revolutionary democracy through communism with utopian color to scientific communism. Only by linking each viewpoint of Marx with a specific stage and studying it in light of the whole course of development can we correctly understand and catch its real meaning and can we avoid substituting immature Marxism for his mature thought or equating one with the other. Thus it can be seen that one will violate the essential principles of Marxism if one uses the concept that "man himself is the supreme nature of man" as a theoretical basis to support one's argument that "everything for man" is the kernel of scientific socialism.

What Is the Very Kernel of Scientific Socialism?

What then is the very kernel of scientific socialism after all? Engels profoundly elaborated on this question in chapter 3 of "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific." To be brief, the key argument of this chapter is that the dialectic movement of the capitalist mode of production will inevitably give rise to socialism. Theoretically speaking, the core issue discussed throughout this chapter is the question concerning the inevitable course and the law of history. Scientific socialism as an ideological system is aimed at bringing to light the law of the proletarian emancipation movement through the study of its nature, conditions, and general purpose. The proletarian emancipation movement is the communist movement in which the proletariat, under the leadership of its political party and under the banner of communism, unites with and leads the laboring people in their struggle to overthrow capitalism, build socialism, fulfill the goal of communism, and emancipate the proletariat as well as all of mankind. The emancipation of the proletariat consists of two interrelated aspects, namely, the laborer's becoming the master of nature and the master of society. The laborer must first become the master of society before becoming the master of nature. And the laborer can only fulfill these two goals through revolutionary struggle by the proletariat and, first, through the political form of the emancipation of works. In other words, the proletarian emancipation movement is subject to conditions and must be carried out step by step. Only by first emancipating itself politically can the proletariat finally emancipate mankind as a whole. There are four major conditions and steps for the proletariat's struggle to emancipate itself and mankind: 1) to set up a proletarian political party which is to be guided by Marxism; 2) to seize state power under the leadership of this party, "upgrade the proletariat to be the ruling class, and strive for democracy"; ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 272) 3) to deprive the exploiters of their rights and build under the leadership of this party a socialist society which, being aimed at the elimination of exploitation, enforces the public ownership of the means of production and adheres to the principle of distribution according to work; and 4) to build a high degree of material and spiritual civilization under the leadership of this party and the proletarian state power, create

extremely ample social material wealth, and enhance, by a wide margin, the people's scientific cultural level and communist ideological and moral level, so as to thoroughly eliminate the old style of fixed division of labor and the three major distinctions and thus enable mankind to finally attain the communist society which adopts the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs. Mankind will then be fully emancipated and will become the real master of society and nature. This is the inevitable and fundamental approach to the emancipation of the proletariat and of mankind as well, which reflects the universal law that the history of the world will inevitably move towards socialism and communism. Thus it can be seen that the above argument of Engels on the kernel of scientific socialism is correct. It precisely shows the core of the law of the proletarian emancipation movement. It points out that it is impossible to achieve the real emancipation of the proletariat by indulging in the abstract argument on the emancipation of "man." The proletariat's "'emancipation' is a sort of historical movement rather than a sort of ideological movement. 'Emancipation' is the result of historical relations, industrial condition, commercial condition, agricultural condition, and the state of interrelations." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 368) Thus, scientific socialism is clearly distinguished not only from the "leftist" views that put undue emphasis on class struggle and advocate "socialism of poverty," but also from the rightist views that summarize the kernel of scientific socialism on the concept of "everything for man."

CSO: 4005/441

NORTH REGION

QIN JIWEI, ZHANG TINGFA JOIN 'CIVILITY' ACTIVITIES

OWO41317 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1439 GMT 3 Mar 84

[Excerpts] Beijing, 3 Mar (XINHUA)--The PLA units stationed in Beijing mobilized thousands of commanders and fighters today to do manual labor and work on the project of dredging the lake known as Shishahai. Qin Jiwei, commander of the Beijing PLA Units, led more than 1,000 cadres and fighters to the work site. Braving strong winds and freezing weather, the commanders and fighters used pickaxes to break the ice. They jumped into the icy water to clean up silt and to repair and reinforce the embankments. The entire worksite was seething with activity.

The project of dredging Shishahai began on 26 February. In the past few days, thousands of fighters have been working hard at the site each day. Braving freezing weather and sandstorms, Air Force Commander Zhang Tingfa led 1,000 Air Force commanders and fighters to work at the site on the first day. The PLA Navy was responsible for dredging a lake on which the ice was several feet thick, and in some places, the water was waist deep. Many commanders and fighters used their pickaxes to break the ice and stood in the water to clear up the silt. The harder they worked, the happier they were. Some of them were perspiring profusely, although they wore only shirts. They fulfilled their tasks ahead of schedule by clearing up nearly 4,000 cubic meters of silt within 5 days.

During the civility and courtesy month, the PLA units stationed in Beijing also sent out commanders and fighters to take to the streets to popularize the guidelines laid down by the party Central Committee on developing socialist spiritual civilization and building Beijing. Various units, such as the PLA General Political Department, joined the government organs, schools, and factories near the barracks in studying plans on how to pool their efforts in promoting civility. Many PLA units also organized learn-from-Lei Feng teams, and service centers for the promotion of civility and the development of various activities to serve the people. They were warmly praised by the people in the capital.

CSO: 4005/445

NORTH REGION

BRIEFS

DATE, AGENDA FOR PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SESSION--The Fifth Standing Committee meeting of the Sixth Regional People's Congress decided to convene the second session of the Sixth Regional People's Congress in Hohhot in late May 1984. The main items on the agenda of the upcoming congress session will be: 1) hearing and examining the work report of the regional people's government; 2) examining and approving the report on the implementation of the 1983 regional plans for the economic and social development and the report on the 1984 plans for the regional economic and social development; 3) examining and approving the report on the 1983 regional final accounts and the report on the 1984 regional budget; 4) heeding and examining the work report of the Standing Committee of the regional people's congress; 5) hearing and examining the work report of the regional higher people's court and the work report of the regional people's procuratorate; 6) examining and approving the regional regulations concerning grassland management; 7) holding a by-election for the members of the Standing Committee of the Sixth Regional People's Congress; and 8) electing presidents of various league intermediate people's courts and chief procurators of various league people's procuratorates. [Text] [SK030300 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Mar 84]

CSO: 4005/445

PRC MEDIA ON TAIWAN AFFAIRS

MAO REMARK ON 'THIRD KMT-CPC COOPERATION' CITED

HK061325 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0754 GMT 6 Mar 84

[Article: "Mao Zedong Mentioned 'the Third KMT-CPC Cooperation' as Early as 27 Years Ago"]

[Text] Beijing, 5 Mar (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--The latest issue of TUANJIE BAO [UNITY JOURNAL] reports: On 16 April 1957, at a reception to welcome the visiting Voroshilov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the CPC Central Committee, Mao Zedong, mentioned that the CPC was prepared to cooperate with the KMT for the third time. It is said that this was the first appearance of the expression "the third KMT-CPC cooperation."

On that occasion, the late Premier Zhou Enlai held a grand cocktail party in Beijing Hotel to welcome Voroshilov. When Voroshilov met with Wei Lihuang, a former high-ranking KMT general, Premier Zhou said by way of introduction: "The KMT and the CPC have cooperated twice in the past." Chairman Mao Zedong, who was present, chimed in immediately: "We are yet prepared to cooperate for the third time." XINHUA sent a dispatch on this that night: When RENMIN RIBAO carried the news the next day, the headline read: "Chairman Mao Said: We Are Yet Prepared To Realize the Third KMT-CPC Cooperation."

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